

ARMENIAN MASSACRES AND TURKISH TYRANNY







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ARMENIAN MASSACRES

OR

THE SWORD OF MOHAMMED

CONTAINING

A COMPLETE AND THRILLING ACCOUNT OF THE TERRIBLE
ATROCITIES AND WHOLESALE MURDERS COMMITTED
IN ARMENIA BY MOHAMMEDAN FANATICS

INCLUDING

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE, THEIR HISTORY,
GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND
STRANGE RELIGIOUS BELIEF

BY FREDERICK DAVIS GREENE, M.A.

Secretary of the National Relief Committee and late Missionary to Armenia.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE MOHAMMEDAN REIGN OF TERROR IN ARMENIA

EDITED BY

HENRY DAVENPORT NORTHROP, D.D.

The well-known author.

Embellished with nearly 100 Engravings showing the
Characteristics of the People, Massacres, etc., etc.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.,

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[Letter from the RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, to the author

Dear Sir

I am glad to hear that your work is about to be published.

I believe it will materially assist in arousing public attention to the recent outrages in Armenia which almost pass description and have inflicted indelible disgrace on the Sultan of Turkey and on his officers and soldiers concerned in perpetrating, in denying, and in shielding them.

I remain dear Sir

Yours very faithful Servant
W. E. Gladstone

Rev. F. D. Greene

DEAR SIR:

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I believe it will materially assist in arousing public attention to the recent outrages in Armenia which almost pass description and have inflicted indelible disgrace on the Sultan of Turkey and on his officers and soldiers concerned in perpetrating, in denying and in shielding them.

I remain, dear sir,

Your very faithful and obedient

To Rev. F. D. Green.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[The above is a copy of Mr. Gladstone's autograph letter.]

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE
CHRISTIANS MASSACRED IN ARMENIA
BY THE
SWORD OF MOHAMMED
THIS WORK
IS DEDICATED
BY
THE PUBLISHERS.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS is an important book. It deals with a burning question, and in a way which will command public attention and public confidence.

The author is thoroughly equipped for his task. Birth, residence, and travel in Turkey have made him personally acquainted with the situation which he discusses, and the independence of his position enables him to write without restraint and without prejudice. After nearly four years of service as a missionary of the American Board in Van, the centre of Armenia, during which no criticism of his course was ever made either by the Board or by the Turkish Government, he was recently ordered by his physician to return to America. Having resigned his connection with the American Board, he writes as the representative of no society, religious or political, and is connected with none. In issuing this book he is simply discharging what to him is a personal and unavoidable obligation; and as he frankly avows its authorship, it will be impossible for the Turkish Government to hold any one else responsible for it.

The author shows that the case of the subject races in the Ottoman Empire is desperate, that there is no hope of reform from within, and that relief

must therefore come through the interference of the powers of Europe. Their action depends largely on the support of the public. "*Public opinion*," therefore, "*must be brought to bear upon this case*," as Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons six years ago. Since then there has been added a new chapter of horrors, and the demand for decisive action in the name of our common humanity has become more urgent. The facts furnished by this book ought to arouse such public opinion as will justify and compel prompt and efficient action on the part of the Powers.

The United States need not depart from its long-established foreign policy, but is bound to protect its own honor and the lives and property of its citizens.

JOSIAH STRONG.

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PREFACE.

HE would be a rash man who should claim to have mastered the Eastern Question—a question which it is not easy even to define, and of which the future of Turkey is only a part. To throw light on some phases of the latter problem is the writer's object—and this by way of information rather than argument. What he has learned of the subject has been by residence, travel, absorption, and investigation in the land itself, and by reading. The very short time allowed in the preparation of this humble contribution to the subject has necessitated a hasty and partial treatment at the expense of literary form. Some of the material and most of the illustrations are reproduced from articles by the author in the *American Review of Reviews*, by the kind permission of the editor, Dr. Albert Shaw. No pains have been spared to insure accuracy. References to authorities have been given as far as possible, but in regard to much information from most reliable sources names must be withheld.

This book, with all its harrowing details and records of murders and pillage, was prepared to prove the awful character of the first great massacre of Armenians which had taken place in Sassoun some months

before, but of which no authenticated evidence had up till that time been made public. It was believed that, if the people of Great Britain could be convinced of the condition of Armenia, for which they were largely responsible, such a public opinion would be aroused as would at once lead to vigorous and determined action by that government. It was stated in the Preface: "If such action is *not* taken, the effect of this book, as of all agitation in behalf of the victims of Turkey, will be to draw the fetters deeper." The expectation that England would do her duty has proved to be groundless, but the Turk has lived up to his reputation. Irritated by England's threats, but emboldened by her cowardly and vacillating course, the Sultan, while pretending to reform Armenia, inaugurated there a reign of terror, of which Sassoun was a mere local incident.

THE SWORD OF MOHAMMED is used as a sub-title, because there is still a crisis in the history of that important race; and there will soon be one in Europe if selfishness, jealousy, and duplicity continue to stifle all considerations of humanity, national honor, and—I blush to add it—of Christianity.

In order to protect "British interests," for two-score years, not to say longer, has "Christian" England stood guard at the Sublime Porte, warning all intruders away. With her hand on the door of the Turk's disorderly house, she has complacently informed the world that she in particular—as well as the other Powers—has secured promises, and even guaranties, that all would go well. But all the while, Her Majesty's Ministers, of what-

ever party, have heard the bitter and despairing cry of the poor wretches within, and have done their best to stifle it by carefully suppressing, in their archives, the consular reports which have kept them officially informed of the real situation.¹ And all the while, England's share of the profits of this partnership with "her friend and ally," has been steadily dropping into her overflowing coffers. Was Cyprus nothing? Is Egypt nothing? Is the interest on Turkish bonds, extracted in blood-drops by a pressure that England helps to maintain, nothing? England's Christian statesmen who so jealously protect "British interests," even to the extent of conniving, for "reasons of state," at the outrage and murder of Armenia—whose chief guardianship they insisted on assuming,—would do well to remember that there is a kingdom of God, which has *its* interests, and which for state reasons of its own has swept away mighty empires that defied its laws.

As for France, whose cant at least is not religious, she tattoos her fair figure with "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*" wherever there is space to write the words, but she evidently confines her motto to herself. It is reported that, at the close of the Berlin

¹ "I am at a loss to know why the reports of consuls ceased to be furnished in or about the year 1881. Why are not consular reports to be made, and being made, why are they not to be printed? If in this respect I am personally, or anyone associated with me is, open to censure, let the facts be brought out; but do not let a particular act at a particular time be confounded with the adoption of the principle of eternal silence about the horrors that prevail in Armenia."—Speech by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in House of Commons, May 28, 1889.

Congress in 1878, Prince Bismarck expressed the sentiments of official Germany, by saying that he "would not give one Pomeranian grenadier for the Balkan Peninsula." If so, she would probably sacrifice even less now for Armenia, though she would object, of course, to a division of Turkey without receiving some compensation herself. Austria would gladly extend her protectorate over Macedonia, which would also dispose of that bone of contention between Bulgaria and Greece. Poor Italy finds it hard to swallow what she has already bitten off in Abyssinia, and would be glad of something better.

Holy Russia feels so sure of the Armenian apple, which is bound to fall into her lap when it is ripe, that she does n't even care to shake the branch, lest it might alarm her rivals. She is mistress of the situation, and time is in her favor.

As for Turkey, she has long seen the sword of Damocles over her head, and will bow to the stroke of Fate whenever it falls. She hates and distrusts all the Powers, but, as a last resort, will probably yield to Russia, the nearest and the strongest, in hope of escaping the rest. Nobody expects or is really trying to secure reforms in Turkey, though promises of reform will still be demanded of the Sultan, and will always be ready on demand.

What is the real underlying difficulty in Turkey? Is it a conflict of race, or religion? Primarily it is neither, though both of these elements seriously complicate the case at present. *In one word, it is misgovernment.* Do not be deceived by this rather mild word, and dismiss the subject with the reflec-



TURKISH LADY OF RANK



ARMENIAN BREAD-SELLER

tion that "there is misgovernment everywhere." Misgovernment, as it exists in Turkey, is a system breeding corruption and death. It is a disease, hereditary, chronic, penetrating the whole body politic and fastened on its very vitals. No creed is exempt ; every race is attacked by it.

I have seen the crushing and—what is worse—demoralizing conditions from which all the races in Turkey suffer under Moslem misrule. I know how rapidly these fine races would advance along every line, were these conditions changed. I know the grand possibilities of the Armenians as a people, physically, intellectually, and morally. The only wonder is that a people of so great ability, energy, and spirit have so long submitted. But when one sees, as I have been compelled to, during years of residence both in Constantinople and the interior, how the fetters have been forged on every limb, and how the movement of a finger even brings down immediate and terrible vengeance, the wonder arises why these wretches are so foolhardy as to undertake revolution. The fact is they are not engaged in any such enterprise. Individual agitators there are, but even their object is only to force the civilized world to give attention to the despairing cry of their race, which even God does not seem, to them, to hear.

If the Armenians are to be left as they are, it is a pity that Europe ever mentioned them in the Treaty of Berlin or subsequently ; and to intrust reforms in their behalf to those who have devoted three months' time to killing and robbing them is simply to abandon the Armenians to destruction and to put the

seal of Europe to the bloody work. The only way to reform Turkey, as history has so often shown, is by forcible foreign intervention—not the threat of it, but the intervention itself.

The position and power of Russia give her a unique call to the work. Should she enter on it at once the whole civilized world would approve her course. Russia should have as free a hand in Armenia as England has insisted on having in Egypt. By frankly admitting this, England would gain in the respect and sympathy of the world and strengthen her own position.

During a conversation with Mr. Gladstone in his home at Easter, 1895, I asked him if he shared the horror expressed by some, of opening the Eastern Question. Quick as a flash he replied, "The only way to *close* it is to open it." If in this fair, honest, and determined spirit the statesmen of Europe should come together, it would not take long to dispose of the so-called "Sick Man." The fact is he is already dead, and the only way to dispose of him is by burying him out of sight. He is too far decomposed to hold together and must, therefore, be buried piecemeal. No "joint action" will succeed. Each of the European undertakers should dispose of a part, be paid proportionately out of the estate, and administer the remainder as permanent guardians in the interests of the "Sick Man's" various children, thus happily orphaned.

I preach no crusade; none is needed. But it is high time for the conscience of the civilized world to assert itself—not simply the "non-Conformist

conscience," but the Established, the Orthodox, the Catholic, the Agnostic, and the Infidel conscience, in fact the human conscience—against this crime upon humanity. If this conscience is once aroused, I care not what parties are in power, or how the game stands on the diplomatic chessboard, the rule of the Turk will be ended, and one more blot will be wiped out from the annals of the world.

The policy of the United States Government in this world crisis has been one of impotence as far as the cause of humanity is concerned, contemptible from the standpoint of national honor, and suicidal as regards American interests.

While not lifting so much as a finger to shield tens of thousands of helpless women and children from murder and outrage, President Cleveland, by his gallant thundering about a few miles of swamps in Venezuela, at once threw into hopeless confusion the calculations of European statesmen in regard to the Armenians, and removed all pressure in their behalf. Meanwhile, thirteen respected and law-abiding United States citizens were actually bombarded by the Sultan's troops, and had their houses plundered and burned. Though four months have passed, no indemnity has been secured, and it is not probable that any official will be punished for this insult to America.

Emboldened by such timid and tardy action by this country, the Porte has now assumed the aggressive and audaciously accuses the American residents of sedition and murder. The object of this

charge is simply to secure their expulsion from the country. .

In this policy of getting rid of the Americans, the Turks are ably seconded by the Russian Ambassador and by the American Minister at Constantinople, though from different motives. Turkey seeks the expulsion of the Americans because she knows that, as spiritual and educational leaders, they are a mighty influence in the development of her Christian subjects whom she wishes to retain as helpless serfs. Russia expects soon to inherit the land and would like to have it cleared of what she considers religious weeds and political brambles. The United States Minister professes to be haunted by the future ghosts of American citizens, whom, for the very purpose of terrifying him, the Turks threaten to murder. These citizens, both men and women, have bravely and cheerfully stood at their posts while the storm of death has raged around them; and now that it is passed, it is ridiculous to suppose that Turkey cannot continue to protect them. Just as soon, however, as the Sultan is convinced that it would be *safe* to have them massacred under the cloak of "a fanatical mob" that event is likely to occur.

The jeopardy to American life and interests arises from the undignified and half-hearted way in which they are being "defended." A reversal of this policy would safeguard not simply the persons and property of American citizens, but, what is more, our national honor. It would, at the same time, indirectly, greatly advance the cause of humanity and civilization in that unfortunate land.

CHAPTER I.

A CHAPTER OF HORRORS.

CERTIFIED EVIDENCE OF THE MASSACRE IN SASSOUN.

WE, the undersigned, by examination and comparison, have satisfied ourselves that the following statements are verbatim reports, written under the dates which they bear, by American citizens who have spent from six to thirty years in Eastern Turkey. We have examined also the fact that they are written from six different cities from one hundred to two hundred miles apart, but forming a circle about the centre in which the massacres occurred. For the personal safety of the writers the names of the places cannot now be made public. They are independent reports from a country where refugees and returned soldiers of the Sultan speak of what they know. We have the utmost confidence in these statements and regard them worthy the belief of all men.

In the name of a suffering humanity we urge the careful perusal of these statements, and recommend that all readers take measures to make the indignation of an outraged Christian world effectually felt. We deprecate revolution among these helpless Turkish subjects, but bespeak cordial co-operation in bringing to bear upon Turkey the force of the righteous condemnation of our seventy millions of people.

Frederic T. Greenhalge

Frances Ellwood

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Samuel J. Barrows.

Gib. C. Foster

William E. Barton

H. M. Jewett

May A. Livermore

Alpheus H. Hardy

Francis E. Clark.

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¹ Brother and predecessor of the present Consul Jewett, at Sivas.

Edward E. Hale.

Julia Ward Howe.

Walter A. Walker

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Isabel Stimers

Cyrus Hamlin

J. J. Lansing

Joseph Cook

Wm. Brewster

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Pres. Mass. Instit. of Technology.

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Ex-Attorney-General of Massachusetts.

ISABEL SOMERSET

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CYRUS HAMLIN

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JOSEPH COOK

Author and Lecturer.

WM. E. RUSSELL

Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.

JONATHAN A. LANE

Pres. Boston Merchants' Association.

EXPLANATORY NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.

THESE letters are written by men who can have no possible motive for misrepresenting the facts in the case, while, on the other hand, each writer subjected himself to personal danger by putting such statements upon paper and sending them through the mails. Several of the documents have gotten through Turkey by circuitous routes, in some instances having been sent by special messenger to Persia, and so on to this country. Others were never risked in the Turkish mails, but have come through the British post-office at Constantinople.

It must be borne in mind that no writer was an eye-witness of the actual massacre; nor could he have been, inasmuch as the whole region was surrounded by a military cordon during the massacre and for months after. The letters are largely based on the testimony of refugees from that region, or of Kurds and soldiers who participated in the butchery, and who had no hesitation in speaking about the affair in public or private until long after, when the prospect of a European investigation sealed their lips. Much of the evidence is, therefore, essentially first hand, having been obtained from eye-witnesses,

by parties in the vicinity at the time, who are impartial, thoroughly experienced in sifting Oriental testimony, familiar with the Turkish and Armenian languages, and of the highest veracity. No one letter would have much force if taken alone, for it might be a large report of a small matter ; but these eleven letters are written independently of one another, at different times, and from seven different cities widely apart, five of them forming a circle around the scene of destruction. The evidence is cumulative and overwhelming.

There is absolute unanimity to this extent : that a gigantic and indescribably horrible massacre of Armenian men, women, and children did actually take place in the Sassoun and neighboring regions about Sept. 1, 1894, and that, too, at the hands of Kurdish troops armed by the Sultan of Turkey, as well as of regular soldiers sent under orders from the same source. What those orders were will probably never transpire. That they were executed under the personal direction of high Turkish military officers is clear. There can also be no doubt—for the official notice from the palace was printed in the Constantinople papers in November last—that Zekki Pasha, Commander of the Fourth Army Corps, who led the regular troops in the work of extermination, has since been specially honored by a decoration from the Sultan, who was also pleased to send silk banners to the four leading Kurdish chiefs, by a special messenger.

The latest, most accurate, and comprehensive document in this correspondence is No. 6.

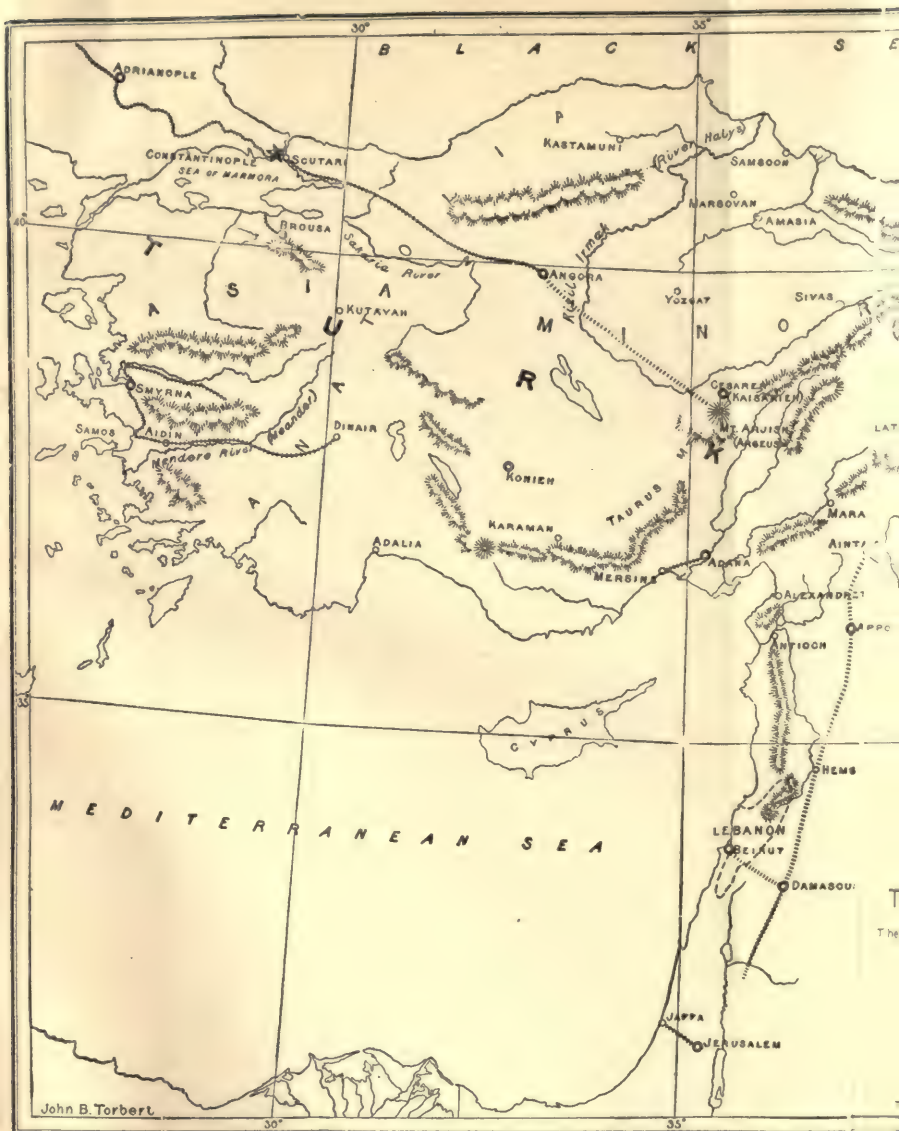
Vice-Consul Shipley, representing Great Britain in the inquiry held at Moosh from January 24 to July 21, 1895, substantiates the evidence published in this chapter a year ago :

*" We [Messrs. Vilbert, Shipley, and Prjevalsky, the representatives of France, England, and Russia] have, in our report, given it as our conviction, arrived at from the evidence brought before us, that the Armenians were massacred without distinction of age or sex ; and, indeed, for a period of some three weeks, viz., from the 12th of Aug. to the 4th of Sept. (O.S.), it is not too much to say that the Armenians were absolutely hunted like wild beasts, being killed wherever they were met, and if the slaughter was not greater, it was, I believe, solely owing to the vastness of the mountain ranges of that district, which enabled the people to scatter and so facilitated their escape. In fact, and speaking with a full sense of responsibility, I am compelled to say that the conviction has forced itself upon me, that it was not so much the capture of the agitator Mourad, or the suppression of a pseudo revolt, which was desired by the Turkish authorities, as the extermination, pure and simple, of the Ghelieguzan and Talori districts."*¹

British Vice-Consul Hampson, who made a tour of the whole region in August, 1895, adds :

*" That large numbers perished seems certain, the whole region being absolutely surrounded by Kurds and soldiers under the Mutessarif of Guendj, and Major Sali Effendi, now in command. Nobody and nothing belonging to the Armenians was purposely spared."*²

¹ *Blue Book*, Turkey, 1895, No. 1, Part I., p. 206. ² *Ibid.*, p. 200.





THE EVIDENCE.

No. 1.

[The reader should take notice that this first letter was written over four months before the massacre actually occurred.]

D . . . , April 3, 1894.

It does seem in this region as if the government were bent on reducing all those who survive the process to a grovelling poverty, when they can think of nothing more than getting their daily bread. There is good reason for thinking that unless so-called Christian nations extend a helping hand, they [the Armenians] will become wellnigh extinct. Of course I do not sympathize in any way with the extremists in other lands who are stirring things up here. Nor do I agree with those papers that decry this movement as very foolish because there is no hope for success. If I rightly interpret the movement in this region, the thought is not revolution at all, but a desperate effort to call the attention of Europe to the wrongs they are suffering and will ever continue to suffer under this government. They feel that they will never succeed in attracting that

attention unless they show that they are desperate enough to sacrifice their lives. *And there is no computing the lives that are going, not in open massacre as in Bulgaria—the government knows better than that.—but in secret, silent, secluded ways.* The sooner it is known, the better. There never will be peaceful prosperous conditions here until others take hold with a strong hand.



**VICTIMS OF TURKISH TAXATION ABANDONING THEIR
VILLAGE HOMES.**

No. 2.

[This is the first report of the massacre.]

D . . . , Sept. 26, 1894.

Troops have been massed in the region of the large plain near us. Sickness broke out among them, which took off two or three victims every few days. It was a good excuse for establishing the quarantine

around, with its income from bribes, charges, and the inevitable rise in the price of the already dear grain. I suspect that one reason for placing quarantine was to hinder the information as to what all those troops were about in that region. There seems little doubt that there has been repeated in the region back of Moosh what took place in 1876 in Bulgaria. The sickening details are beginning to come in. As in that case, it has been the innocent who have been the greatest sufferers. Forty-eight villages are said to have been wholly blotted out.

No. 3.

[Efforts to conceal the truth as soon as Vice-Consul Hallward arrived on the scene, and to ward off investigation.]

D . . . , Oct. 3, 1894.

As the time goes on the extent of the slaughter seems to be confirmed as greater than was first supposed. Six thousand is a low figure—it is probably nearer ten. Mr. Hallward, the new [English] Consul at Van, has gone directly there, and it is said that the other consuls from Erzroom have also been sent to investigate. The government tried to get the people here to sign an address to the Sovereign, expressing satisfaction with his rule, disclaiming sympathy with the Armenians who have “stirred matters up,” stating that the thousands slain in Talvoreeg met their just deserts, and that the four outsiders captured should be summarily punished, expressing

regret that it has been thought best to send consuls to investigate, and stating that there was no need for their coming. From this document we at least get some facts that before were suppositions. It consisted of about two thousand words, and it was expected that it would be sent by telegraph with at least a thousand signatures. The Armenians here have not yet signed it, though in four districts similar papers have been secured properly sealed. *The effect of such papers on foreigners will be much modified when they know the means used to procure them.* Sword, famine, pestilence, all at once—pity this poor country!

No. 4.

[The following is from a different source.]

A . . . , Oct. 31, 1894.

We have word from Bitlis that the destruction of life in Sassoun, south of Moosh, was even greater than was supposed. The brief note which has reached us says: "Twenty-seven villages annihilated in Sassoun. Six thousand men, women, and children massacred by troops and Kourds. This awful story is just beginning to be known here, though the massacre took place early in September. The Turks have used infinite pains to prevent news leaking out, even going to the length of sending back from Trebizond many hundreds from the Moosh region who had come this way on business." This massacre was ordered from Constantinople in the sense that some Kourds having robbed Armenian

villages of flocks, the Armenians pursued and tried to recover their property, and a fight ensued in which a dozen Kourds were killed. The slain were "semi-official robbers," *i. e.*, enrolled as troops and armed as such, but not under control. The authorities then telegraphed to Constantinople that Armenians had "killed some of the Sultan's troops." The Sultan at once ordered infantry and cavalry to put down the Armenian rebellion, and they did it; only, not finding any rebellion, they cleared the country so that none should occur in the future.

No. 5.

[This from a third place.]

B . . . , Nov. 16, 1894.

Last year the Talvoreeg Armenians successfully resisted the attacks of the neighboring Kourds. The country became very unsettled. This year the government interfered and sent detachments of regular soldiers to put down the Armenians. These were assisted by the Kourdish *Hamediéhs* [organized troops]. The Armenians were attacked in their mountain fastnesses and were finally reduced by the failure of supplies, both of food and ammunition. About a score of villages were wiped out of existence—people slaughtered and houses burned.

A number of able-bodied young Armenians were captured, bound, covered with brushwood and burned alive. A number of Armenians, variously estimated, but less than a hundred, surrendered

themselves and pled for mercy. Many of them were shot down on the spot and the remainder were dispatched with sword and bayonet.

A lot of women, variously estimated from 60 to 160 in number, were shut up in a church, and the soldiers were "let loose" among them. Many of them were outraged to death and the remainder dispatched with sword and bayonet. A lot of young women were collected as spoils of war. Two stories are told. 1. That they were carried off to the harems of their Moslem captors. 2. That they were offered Islam and the harems of their Moslem captors,—refusing, they were slaughtered. Children were placed in a row, one behind another, and a bullet fired down the line, apparently to see how many could be dispatched with one bullet. Infants and small children were piled one on the other and their heads struck off. Houses were surrounded by soldiers, set on fire, and the inmates forced back into the flames at the point of the bayonet as they tried to escape.

But this is enough of the carnage of death. Estimates vary from 3000 to 8000 for the number of persons massacred. These are sober estimates. Wild estimates place the number as high as 20,000 to 25,000.

This all took place during the latter part of August and [early part of] September. The arrival of the commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army Corps put a stop to the carnage. It is to be noted that the massacres were perpetrated by regular soldiers, for the most part under command of officers of high rank. This gives this affair a most serious aspect.

A Christian does not enjoy the respect accorded to street dogs. If this massacre passes without notice it will simply become the declaration of the doom of the Christians. There will be no security for the life, property, or honor of a Christian. A week ago last Tuesday evening at sundown a Turk kidnapped the wife of a wealthy Armenian merchant of the town of Khanoos Pert. Next morning her cries were overheard by searchers and she was rescued from a Turkish house. No redress is possible.

Wild rumors have been abroad for a long time, but trustworthy information came to hand slowly. Everything has been done to hush it all up. Some of the minor details of the stories I have told above may not be exact, but I feel quite certain they are in the main. However, that a cruelly barbarous and extensive massacre of Christians by regular soldiers assisted by Kourdish *Hamedieh's*, under command of officers of rank and responsibility, has occurred cannot be denied.

What now will the Christian world do?

No. 6.

[This is the most complete account, compiled on the ground. The following document was carefully prepared in common by parties, the signature of any one of whom would be of sufficient guaranty to give great weight. One of the party, who is largely responsible for the data given, is a man of high position and wide influence. The material was collected with the greatest difficulty and under the

constant espionage of Turkish officials. Armenian Christians who were known to appear at the place where the writer was staying, were arrested and some are yet in prison if they have not met a worse fate already. The documents were sent by secret, special carriers into Persia and came by Persian post to the United States. They left Turkey about the last of November, 1894. This document alone is sufficient to stir the indignation of a Christian world.]

C . . . , Nov., 1894.

There is uneasiness in Bitlis as to the safety of that city. Scrutiny of the mails by the Turkish authorities continues, and some letters addressed to residents and officials in the United States are failing to arrive.

The *Hamedieh* soldiers, who are Kourds, and who have been enrolled during the past three years, are uniformed to some extent, but left in their homes. They are committing all kinds of depredations. The government continues to exact taxes in the plundered districts, sends *zabtichs*, or Turkish soldiers, to abide in the villages, and eat the people out of provisions until in some way they manage to secure the money. In the Bashkalla region many of the men find, on returning, that the government has taken possession of their property and refuses to restore it or allow them to remain in their old homes.

The authorities have taken and are taking every precaution to prevent accounts of the famous massacre of Moosh from reaching the outside world. The English consul, Mr. Hallward, went on a tour in

the region affected. He was subjected to constant annoying espionage, and was absolutely unable to penetrate into the devastated region.

To what extent Armenian agitation has provoked the terrible massacre it is difficult to determine. For a year or more there seems to have been an Armenian from Constantinople staying in the region as an agitator. For a long time he skilfully evaded his pursuers, but was at last caught and taken to Bitlis. He demanded to be taken to Constantinople and to the Sultan, and, it is said, he is now living at the capital, receiving a large salary from the government. Evidently he has turned state's evidence.

FACTS REGARDING A MASSACRE AT SASSOUN, NEAR MOOSH, TURKEY.

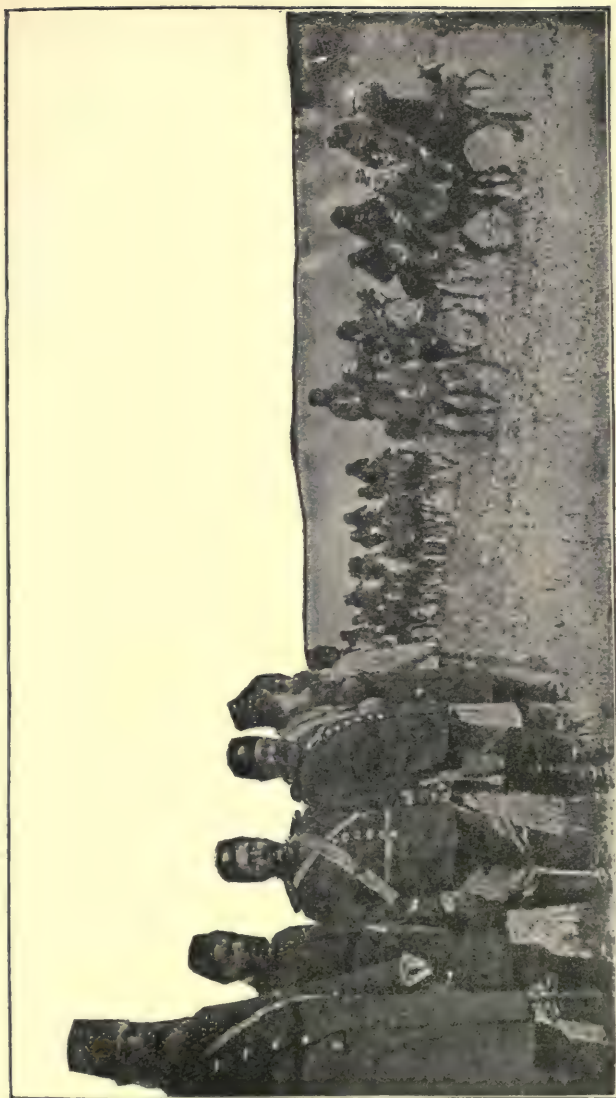
Late in May, 1893, an outside agitator named Damatian was captured near Moosh. The government had suspected that the Talvoreeg villages were harboring such agitators, and had sent orders to certain Kourdish chiefs to attack the district, assuming the responsibility for all they should kill, and promising the Kourds all the spoil.

Not long after Damatian had been brought to Bitlis, the first week in June, the Bakranlee Kourds began to gather below Talvoreeg. As the villagers saw the Kourds gathering day by day, to the number of several thousands, they suspected their designs, and began to make preparations. On the eighth day the battle was joined. The stronger position of the villagers enabled them to do considerable execution with little loss to themselves.

The issue of the contest at sunset was some one hundred Kourds slain, and but six of the villagers, one of whom was a woman who was trying to rescue a mule from the Kourds. The villagers had succeeded in breaking down a bridge across the deep gorge of a river before a detachment of Kourds from another direction could join in the attack against them. The Kourds thus felt themselves worsted, and could not be induced to make another attack that summer.

At this juncture the Governor-general set out with troops and two field-pieces for Moosh, and infested the region near Talvoreeg, but either he considered his forces insufficient, or he had orders to keep quiet, for he made no attack, but merely had the troops keep siege. Before leaving, he succeeded, by giving hostages, in having an interview with some of the chief men in Talvoreeg, and asked them why they did not submit to the government, and pay taxes. They replied that they were not disloyal to the government, but that they could not pay taxes twice, to the Kourds and to the government. If the government would protect them, they would pay to it. Nothing came of the parley, and the siege was continued till snow fell. During the winter, while blackmail was rife in the vilayet, several rich men of Talvoreeg were invited to visit the Governor-General, but did not see best to accept.

In the early spring the Kourds of several tribes were ordered to attack the villages of Sassoun, while troops were sent on from Moosh and Bitlis, the latter taking along ammunition and stores, and ten mule-



REVIEW OF KURDISH CAVALRY BY THE GOVERNOR OF VAN, BAHRI PASHA—AT THE LEFT.

loads of kerosene (eighty cans). The whole district was pretty well besieged by Kourds and troops. The villages thus besieged would occasionally make sorties to secure food.

The Kourds on one occasion stole several oxen, and their owners tracked their property to the Kourdish tents, and found that one ox had been butchered. They asked for the others, and were refused, whereupon the villagers left, and later returned with some companions. A scrimmage ensued, in which two or three were killed on either side. The Kourds at once took their dead to the government at Moosh, and reported that the region was filled with Armenian and foreign soldiers. The government at once sent in all directions for soldiers, gathering in all from eight to ten *taboors* (regiments). Kourds congregated to the number of about twenty thousand, while some five hundred *Hamedieh* horsemen were brought to Moosh.

METHODS OF PROCEDURE AND INCIDENTS OF THE MASSACRE.

At first the Kourds were set on, and the troops kept out of sight. The villagers, put to the fight, and thinking they had only the Kourds to do with, repulsed them on several occasions. The Kourds were unwilling to do more unless the troops assisted. Some of the troops assumed Kourdish dress, and helped them in the fight with more success. Small companies of troops entered several villages, saying they had come to protect them as loyal subjects, and were quartered among the houses.

In the night they arose and slew the sleeping villagers, man, woman, and child.

By this time those in other villages were beginning to feel that extermination was the object of the government, and desperately determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. And then began a campaign of butchery that lasted some twenty-three days, or, roughly, from the middle of August to the middle of September. The *Ferik* Pasha [Marshal Zekki Pasha], who came post-haste from Erzingan, read the Sultan's firman for extermination, and then, hanging the document on his breast, exhorted the soldiers not to be found wanting in their duty. *On the last day of August, the anniversary of the Sultan's accession, the soldiers were especially urged to distinguish themselves, and they made it the day of the greatest slaughter.* Another marked day occurred a few days earlier, being marked by the occurrence of a wonderful meteor.

No distinctions were made between persons or villages, as to whether they were loyal and had paid their taxes or not. The orders were to make a clean sweep. A priest and some leading men from one village went out to meet an officer, taking in their hands their tax receipts, declaring their loyalty, and begging for mercy; but the village was surrounded, and all human beings put to the bayonet. A large and strong man, the chief of one village, was captured by the Kourds, who tied him, threw him on the ground, and, squatting around him, stabbed him to pieces.

At Galagozan many young men were tied hand

and foot, laid in a row, covered with brushwood and burned alive. Others were seized and hacked to death piecemeal. At another village a priest and several leading men were captured, and promised release if they would tell where others had fled, but, after telling, all but the priest were killed. A chain was put around the priest's neck, and pulled from opposite sides till he was several times choked and revived, after which several bayonets were planted upright, and he raised in the air and let fall upon them.

The men of one village, when fleeing, took the women and children, some five hundred in number, and placed them in a sort of grotto in a ravine. After several days the soldiers found them, and butchered those who had not died of hunger.

Sixty young women and girls were selected from one village and placed in a church, when the soldiers were ordered to do with them as they liked, after which they were butchered.

In another village fifty choice women were set aside and urged to change their faith and become *hanums* in Turkish harems, but they indignantly refused to deny Christ, preferring the fate of their fathers and husbands. People were crowded into houses which were then set on fire. In one instance a little boy ran out of the flames, but was caught on a bayonet and thrown back.

Children were frequently held up by the hair and cut in two, or had their jaws torn apart. Women with child were ripped open; older children were pulled apart by their legs. A handsome, newly wedded couple fled to a hilltop; soldiers followed,

and told them they were pretty and would be spared if they would accept Islam, but the thought of the horrible death they knew would follow did not prevent them from confessing Christ.

The last stand took place on Mount Andoke [south of Moosh], where some thousand persons had sought refuge. The Kourds were sent in relays to attack them, but for ten or fifteen days were unable to get at them. The soldiers also directed the fire of their mountain guns on them, doing some execution. Finally, after the besieged had been without food for several days, and their ammunition was exhausted, the troops succeeded in reaching the summit without any loss, and let scarcely a man escape.

Now all turned their attention to those who had been driven into the Talvoreeg district. Three or four thousand of the besieged were left in this small plain. When they saw themselves thickly surrounded on all sides by Turks and Kourds, they raised their hands to heaven with an agonizing moan for deliverance. They were thinned out by rifle shots, and the remainder were slaughtered with bayonets and swords, till a veritable river of blood flowed from the heaps of the slain.

And so ended the massacre, for the timely arrival of the Mushire [Commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army Corps at Erzingan] saved a few prisoners alive, and prevented the extermination of four more villages that were on the list to be destroyed, among which was the Protestant village of Havodorick. This was the formidable army the government had massed so many troops and Kourds to vanquish.

For God's sake do not let the public conscience go to sleep again over this reign of terror. The land is almost paralyzed with horror and terror !

No. 7.

[The crisis and the need of keeping the issue clear.
The real explanation of the massacre.]

A . . . , Jan. 7, 1895.

The importance of the present crisis grows upon me. In the first place Turkey is preparing for a terrible catastrophe by squeezing Armenians, and arming Moslem civilians in Sivas, Aleppo, Castamouni, and other provinces ; and in the second place it is putting on the screws tighter everywhere excepting in the three eastern provinces where the Commission is now commencing investigation. In Van and Bitlis the process of arresting and intimidating witnesses went on until the very hour of the departure of the Commission of Investigation. Then the order went out to stop, and those provinces are enjoying the first semblance of quiet that they have known for five years.

This policy of continued massacre and outrage is favored by the profound ignorance which prevails everywhere as to the actual state of things in Turkey. People think that the Sassoun massacre is something exceptional, and that until that is proved there is no evidence of a need of European interference in behalf of Christians in Turkey. What ought to be done is to fix on the mind of the public the fact that Turkey

has taken up the policy of crushing the Christians all over the Empire, and has been at it for several years, so that even if the massacre had not taken place, the duty of Europe to prohibit Turkey from acting the part of Anti-Christ was still self-evident.



NAREG ; ANCIENT CHURCH AND MODERN HOVELS.

No. 8.

B . . ., Jan. 12, 1895.

The people are in a state of horror because of the massacre. The Commission has been expected for some time, and without doubt the local authorities have used every means to cover up their tracks and terrorize still further those who may be probable

witnesses. Those who are encouraged to testify will be again at the mercy of the Turks after the Commission rises. I have not the slightest doubt that some will be courageous enough to testify, but it will be at great odds. Almost everything is against the perfect success of the Commission's work, or rather the favorable outcome of the work of the European delegates. It will not be right to stake the fate of Armenia on the outcome of the work of this Commission.

Rather it should be remembered that Sassoun is the outcome of a governmental system. There have been hundreds of Sassouns all over the country all through the last ten years, as you know. The laxity of Europe has afforded opportunity for the merciless working of this system in all its vigor. It is born of religious and race hatred, and has in mind the crushing of Christianity and Christians.

It is not the Kourdish robbers, or famine, or cholera that have to answer for the present state of the country. It is rather the robbery, and famine, and worse than cholera entailed on the country by the workings of this system. It is not alone the blood of five thousand men, women, children, and babies, that rises in a fearful wail to heaven, calling for just vengeance, but also the fearful suffering, the desolate homes, the wanton cruelty of tax collectors and petty officials, and the violated honor of scores and scores.

The Turk is on trial. Let not Sassoun alone go in evidence, but remember that the same wail rises from all over the country.

No. 9.

[From a graduate of an American school.]

[Translated.]

G . . . , Nov. 4, 1894.

"I implore that you will remember one of your former pupils, and hear my cry. Oh, woe is me, eternal pain and sorrow to my young heart! Evil disposed and lawless men have robbed me of the bloom



ARMENIAN GIRLS OF VAN.

and beauty of my wifely purity. It was H—— Bey the son of the Kaimakam (the local Turkish Governor residing in the village). I was engaged in my household work. I stepped outside the door, when I suddenly found myself in the grasp of four men. They smothered my cries and threatened my life, and by force carried me off to a strange house. Though this is written with ink, believe me, it is written in blood and tears."

THE SEQUEL TO SASSOUN.

The Sassoun massacre, which was first publicly proven beyond doubt by the foregoing evidence, was simply a gigantic murder of which the perpetrators were the Sultan's regular and irregular troops, and of which the victims were four thousand hardy, brave, but helpless mountaineers, the flower of the Armenian race. The massacre took place early in September, 1894. Within a month, the British Government was in possession of the main facts through reports of its own consuls. But instead of taking prompt action, it spent several months more in polite correspondence on the subject with the Powers and the Porte. After giving his officials four months in which to clear up the evidences of their crime, the Sultan sent a "Commission of Inquiry" to investigate at Moosh. This Commission was a farce from beginning to end, for it was composed of Turks, and the Sultan had already rewarded and decorated the criminals. England, France, and Russia, whose right and duty it was to have instituted an investigation of their own, contented themselves with the "concession" from the Sultan that their vice-consuls should be allowed to attend the sittings of the Commission as visitors, but without the power of summoning or protecting witnesses.

It is clear that the diplomats did not take the Commission seriously, for, without awaiting its report they proceeded to prepare a "Scheme of Reforms" for the six eastern provinces—namely, Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Harpoot, and Sivas—and presented it to the Sultan on May 11, 1895.

These reforms were mild and in the line of what the Turks had frequently promised, and their execution was entrusted to the Sultan. But in spite of all this he obstinately refused to accept them.

Spring and summer passed, the anniversary of the Sassoun massacre arrived. No redress had been secured, nor the punishment of a single official, nor the adoption of a single reform. Europe seemed to be trying to hush up the Armenian question.

The Armenians felt that this would mean the sleep of death to their race.

They had been growing more and more restive under the long delay, and a few hot-heads decided to have a demonstration in Constantinople in hope of hastening matters. They made no secret of it, representing that they were simply going to present a petition to the Grand Vezier in an orderly manner, and sent word to him beforehand of their purpose. Such methods of securing attention to grievances are common in Turkey. But the authorities, *as a matter of course*, took the wrong line of action. Instead of letting the crowd go to the Porte and present its petition, as usage requires, thus passing the affair off in a quiet manner, the police were ordered to block the way. This led to a riot on September 30th, during which about twenty Armenians were badly hurt, and three of them died, as well as three of the police.

The few Armenians who had made a show of resistance belonged to the *Hunchagist* or "agitating" society. The members of this society are a mere handful compared with the mass of the Ar-

menian population, which realizes its utter helplessness and has no thought of resistance. No one understands this better than the Turkish Government; but it delights to find an occasional trace of disloyalty, in order to brand the whole race as seditious, and thus justify the policy of cruelty, impoverishment, and extermination which it has been deliberately executing in Armenia for years, and is determined to continue.

If in defending their right of petition the Armenians were guilty, their guilt ends there, for they made no further resistance. But great numbers of them were arrested at once, and several hundred were brutally killed in Constantinople during the week by Mohammedan civilians and *Softas*, or religious students.

The following is a significant extract from a letter :

“CONSTANTINOPLE, Oct. 5, 1895.

“The slaughter continued through Tuesday and Wednesday morning. There was no general attack on houses, but a tendency to kill every Armenian seen in the streets. This morning the Sultan sent presents to the *Softas* engaged in the work. No Mohammedan has been arrested for murder of Armenians. The worst feature of the whole affair has been the brutal murder of prisoners at the Ministry of Police by the officers charged with their guardianship. Several eye-witnesses describe how men were beaten to death by the police in the Court of the Ministry. The clerk of a foreign consulate happened to be there on Monday, and saw eight

Armenians brought in from the street and instantly bayoneted."

The massacre at Trebizond, October 8th, was the first of a series, and in many respects was typical of those which rapidly followed in Erzerum, Erzingan, Baiboort, Sivas, Marsovan, Cesarea, Harpoot, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Malatia, Marash, Aintab and other places. It should be remembered, however, that Trebizond, being a seaport, with a large foreign population and European consuls, suffered less than the cities of the interior where there were no such restraining influences.

The following description of the massacre at Trebizond, is that of an American eye-witness and was written on the spot at the time.

"TREBIZOND, Oct. 9, 1895.

"On Saturday, October 5th, the excitement in town (over news of the attacks on Armenians in Constantinople) was very intense. The Consuls had a consultation, and going in a body to the Governor, earnestly pressed him to arrest those who were exciting the people to acts of outrage. The Governor declined to do so but promised in his own way to do 'the right thing'!

"Suddenly like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, the assault began at about 11 A.M. yesterday. Unsuspecting people walking along the streets and merchants sitting quietly at their shop doors were shot ruthlessly down. Some were slashed with swords until life was extinct. They passed through the quarters where only old men, women, and chil-

dren remained, killing the men and large boys, generally permitting the women and younger children to live. For five hours this horrid work of inhuman butchery went on. Then the sound of musketry died away and the work of looting began. Every shop of an Armenian in the market was gutted. For hours bales of broadcloth, cotton goods, and every conceivable kind of merchandise passed along without molestation to the houses of the spoilers. The intention evidently was to impoverish and as near as possible to blot out the Armenians of this town. So far as appearances went, the police and soldiers distinctly aided in this savage work, their only care being to see that the right ones—that is, Armenians—were killed.”

“TREBIZOND, Oct. 14, 1895.

“Many, who even promised to accept the religion of Islam, were still most cruelly hacked to pieces.

In this city and vicinity the killed number 1,000, almost exclusively males. When you consider that the adult males of the Armenian community did not number more than 2,000, the frightful mortality is at once understood. On the other hand, not one of the rioters has been arrested; not one has been disarmed. Apparently all this wholesale murder of peaceable and law-abiding subjects of the Sultan is no crime worthy of notice. The Armenians are now so prostrated that they can do nothing. Relief must come from abroad.”

October 16th was a day of rejoicing in Constantinople, but it will be remembered as one of the

blackest days in Armenian history. On that day the Sultan professed to accept the scheme of reforms which for more than five months the Powers had urged upon him in vain. What he really did, as subsequent events demonstrate beyond a doubt, was to sign the death-warrant of the Armenians who were to have profited by the reforms. He had darkly hinted that this would follow if he were pushed too hard, but no one believed that he would really prove so vindictive or so foolish as to carry out the threat. The Armenian leaders who were baffled in trying to present their petition on September 30th, had for two weeks kept up a silent protest by compelling all Armenians to close their shops in the bazaars. But the granting of the reforms, which was all that the so-called "revolutionists" demanded, produced at once an enormous sense of relief, and the streets were as busy as ever.

From this time on reform by massacre was the order of the day. The Armenians in city after city were quickly given over to slaughter and spoliation.

The following letter, written from Erzerum within three weeks after the Sultan accepted the reforms, shows with what energy, zeal, and good faith he carried them out. It should be remembered that Shakir Pasha, the Imperial Reform Commissioner, and Raouf Pasha, the best Governor in all the Eastern provinces, were in command at Erzerum :

"ERZERUM, Nov. 5, 1895.

"The wave of destruction started at Constantinople and has so far swept through Trebizond, Bai-

boort, Erzingan, Erzerum, Bitlis, Harpoot, and the intervening districts. The entire Erzerum province has been deluged in Christian blood and the bulk of Christian property plundered or destroyed.

"The scheme of reform has now become an impossibility. The only hope of this land is foreign occupation. Appeal for relief funds. The remnant of the people are left in utter destitution. They cannot get out of the country. Two cents a day will give a man about a pound and a half of bread. For the love of God do all you can to get relief for these wretched people!

"The scene in the cemetery was awful. The remains are simply the wrecks of human bodies. Awful cruelty was practised. The majority have bullet wounds in addition to bayonet, sword, and dagger cuts. Some were skinned, some burned with kerosene. A great many women are missing. Very many of the dead have been disposed of by the Turks themselves. There must have been a thousand killed. About seven hundred houses and fifteen hundred shops were plundered of *all* that was in them. The wanton destruction of property that could not be removed was very marked. Boxes and other furniture were split to pieces. Provisions that could not be carried away were destroyed.

"The Armenians had shown a great amount of patience. I am perfectly sure they had no thought of attack, much less any preparation for it. The attack was made by Moslems after leaving the mosques, after the noon hour of prayer, and it was simultaneous all over the city. The Armenians

were in their places of business, which were simply death-traps. For instance, the silversmiths' row was cut off at either end and not a man escaped, and the shops were not only plundered but wrecked. In fact, the most violent Armenians, *i. e.*, the *Hunchagists*, had determined to keep perfectly quiet till the scheme of reform was well tried. The soldiers declare that they had been instructed beforehand. The Turks were expecting it for a long time, and evidently the orders were given from Constantinople. The massacre was almost entirely in the hands of the military. It began and ended with the bugle.

The following has been received from perfectly trustworthy sources in regard to the massacre at Sivas :

“The outbreak began on November 12th and was ‘permitted’ to continue for seven days ; during this ‘bloody week’ about twelve hundred Armenians and ten Turks were killed. Suddenly at noon, as if at a given signal, the Turkish laborers seized their tools, clubs, or whatever was at hand ; soldiers, Circassians, and police their arms,—all under command of officers.—and rushed to the market to begin their dreadful work of killing, stripping the dead, and looting the houses. No resistance was made by the Armenians. Many of the merchants and their clerks were killed ; thus at one blow the Armenian element is eliminated from the trade at Sivas. The Armenian villagers in the vicinity have been robbed of everything, and the people are left to beg and die. The suffering on the approach of winter will be very great.

“As the fury of this storm of blood and greed subsided, the stricken Armenians of Sivas slowly

gathered the mangled and naked bodies of their kinsmen to their cemetery, where a great trench had been dug to hold the horrid harvest of death. A single priest read a short service over the long and ghastly rank, and thus was closed another chapter in the yet unfinished story of cruelty, lust, and fanaticism."

Similar reports from a score of other places might be given, but for the fact that space and the feelings of the reader forbid. The story is the same everywhere. The greatest loss of life was in the province of Harpoot or Mamouret-ul-Aziz. Here 15,000 were slaughtered. Letters from that region state: "The Kurds plunder, but do not generally kill unless resisted; but the Turks kill in cold blood and in ways suggested by the Arch-Fiend himself. The fate of the survivors is even worse than that of those who have been killed. The villagers wander about the fields houseless, with scanty clothing, no food, and winter is upon them. Everywhere they meet with the dread alternative, 'Become Moslems or die.' At least fourteen Protestant pastors, besides Gregorian priests and hundreds of their flocks, have been publicly martyred on refusing to deny their faith."

"In many places the Moslems are picking up the destitute widows and orphans and simply taking possession of them in order to make them Mohammedans without any will of their own." "Fifty-five Armenian women and girls, thus carried off from Oزونovah, a village near Harpoot, were being conveyed along the Euphrates, when, by a swift decision, they all jumped into the river and drowned

themselves to escape a life of Mohammedan slavery and bestiality."

A letter from Cesarea of Dec. 3, 1895, states: "The method taken with the women was to demand that they proclaim themselves Moslems. If they refused, as many did, even young girls from twelve to fifteen years of age, they were cut down mercilessly. This is not intended to be a sensational account. It is a cruel fact which can be substantiated with the utmost ease."

Enough of this Chapter of Horrors! It has been necessary to omit the most cruel details, and the stories of inhuman lust of which hundreds of pure Christian women, both matron and maid, have been the victims, shall not be allowed to soil the pages of this book nor to defile the imagination of the reader. It will be sufficient to give a general summary of the massacres of October, November, and December, 1895.

A GENERAL SUMMARY.

Careful study of trustworthy reports from all the regions devastated proves beyond doubt that *the recent outbreaks, while sudden, were under careful direction in regard to place, time, nationality of the victims and of the perpetrators, were prompted by a common motive and their true character has been systematically concealed by Turkish official reports.*

I. With some exceptions, the massacres have been confined to the provinces to be reformed. In outrages elsewhere, as at Marash, Aintab, Oorfa and Cesarea, the Moslems were excited by the nearness

of the scenes of massacre, and by the reports of the plunder which others were securing. The region devastated is vast, being five hundred miles east and west, and three hundred north and south. It extends from Asia Minor proper to the Russian and Persian frontiers, and from the Black Sea to the Mesopotamian plain.

2. The massacre in Trebizond occurred just as the Sultan, after six months of refusal, was about to consent to the scheme of reforms demanded by the Powers, as if to warn them that, in case they persisted, the mine was already laid for the destruction of the Armenians. In fact the massacre of the Armenians is Turkey's real reply to the demands of Europe that she reform. From Trebizond the wave of murder and robbery swept on through almost every city and town and village in the six provinces where reforms were promised. When the news of the first massacre reached Constantinople, a high Turkish official remarked to one of the ambassadors that massacre was like the small-pox: they must all have it, but they would n't need to have it the second time.

3. The victims were exclusively Armenians. In Trebizond there is a large Greek population, but neither there nor elsewhere have the Greeks been molested. Special care has also been taken to avoid injury to the subjects of foreign nations, with the idea of escaping foreign complications and the payment of indemnities. The only marked exceptions were in Marash, and in Harpoot, where eight buildings belonging to the American Mission were plundered

and burned, the total losses exceeding \$100,000, for which no indemnity has yet been paid, though more than three months has passed.

4. The method in the cities has been to kill within a limited period the largest number of Armenians—especially men of business, capacity and intelligence—and to beggar their families. Hence the massacres were begun during business hours, when the Armenians could be caught in their shops, just after the noonday prayer of the Moslems. The surprised and unarmed Armenians made little or no resistance, and where, as at Diarbekir and Gurun, they undertook to defend themselves, they suffered the more. The killing was done with guns, revolvers, swords, clubs, pickaxes, and every conceivable weapon, and many of the dead were horribly mangled. The shops and houses were absolutely gutted, and often burned.

Upon hundreds of villages the Turks, Kurds, and Circassians came down like the hordes of Tamerlane, robbed the helpless peasants of their flocks and herds, stripped them of their very clothing, and carried away their bedding, cooking utensils, and even the little stores of provisions which they had with infinite care and toil laid up for the severities of a rigorous winter. Worst of all is the bitter cry that comes from every quarter that the Moslems carried off hundreds of Christian women and children.

The number killed in the massacres thus far is estimated at forty thousand. Not less than two hundred and fifty thousand wretched survivors, most of whom are women and children, are in danger of

perishing by starvation and exposure unless foreign aid is promptly sent and allowed to reach them.

5. The perpetrators were the resident Moslem population—armed and instigated by the authorities, who had previously disarmed the Christians,—reinforced by Kurds, Circassians, and in several cases by the Sultan's soldiers and officers, who began the dreadful work at the sound of a bugle, and desisted when the bugle signalled to them to stop. This was notoriously true in Erzerum. In Harpoot, also, the soldiers took a prominent part, firing on the buildings of the American Mission with Martini-Henri rifles and Krupp cannon.

It is an utter mistake to suppose, as some have, that the local authorities could not have suppressed the "fanatical" Moslem mobs and restrained the Kurds. The fact is that the authorities, after looking on while the massacres were in progress, did generally intervene and stop the slaughter in the cities as soon as the limited period during which the Moslems were allowed to kill and rob had expired.

6. The motive of the Turks is apparent even to the superficial observer. The scheme of reforms devolved civil offices, judgeships, and police appointments on Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans in the six provinces proportionately. This, while simple justice, was a bitter pill to the Mohammedans, who had ruled the Christians with a rod of iron for five hundred years. All that was needed to make the scheme of reforms inoperative was to alter the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans. This policy was at once relentlessly and thoroughly exe-

cuted. The Armenians have been both diminished and utterly prostrated, first, by killing at a single blow those most capable of taking a part in any scheme of reconstruction, and, secondly, by compelling the survivors to die of starvation, exposure, and sickness or to become Moslem. Thousands in despair of help from God or man have already accepted the religion of the murderers of their relatives. Though only an outward acceptance now, it will soon become an irrevocable fact, unless the awful pressure of the Turks is broken by foreign intervention.

It is the very essence of Mohammedanism that the *ghiaour* has no right to live save in subjection. The abortive schemes of Europe insisting on the rights of Armenians as men and Christians have enraged the Moslems against them. The arrogant and non-progressive Turks know that in a fair and equal race the Christians will outstrip them in every department of business and industry, and they see in any just scheme of reforms the handwriting on the wall for themselves.

7. The refinement of cruelty appears in this, that the Turkish Government has attempted to cover up its hideous policy and deeds by the most colossal lying and hypocrisy. By the constant publication of mendacious telegrams and reports, it has tried to make Europe and America believe that the agricultural and commercial Armenians, stripped of all weapons and in a hopeless minority, are in rebellion. It is true that on September 30, 1895, some hot-headed young Armenians, contrary to the entreaties of the Arme-

nian Patriarch and the orders of the police, attempted to take a well worded petition to the Grand Vizier, according to a time-honored custom. It is also true that brave and oppressed mountaineers in the one isolated town of Zeitoun drove out a small garrison of Turkish soldiers, whom, however, they treated with humanity; it is likewise true that in various places individual Armenians, in despair, have advocated acts of violence and revenge with the hope of calling attention to their wrongs. But the universal testimony of impartial foreign eye-witnesses is that, with the above exceptions, the Armenians have given no provocation whatever. If the Armenians made attacks, where are the Turkish dead?

And all this has been done by those who have for years dazzled and deceived Europe with Hatti Shereefs and Hatti Humayouns, promulgating civil equality and religious liberty for their Christian subjects.

The Sultan who is the head of all authority in Turkey, wrote to Lord Salisbury, and pledged his word of honor that the scheme of reforms should be carried out to the letter, at the very moment when he was directing the massacres. And the six great Christian Powers of Europe, as well as the United States, still treat this man with infinite courtesy and deference.

The most appalling feature of this vast tragedy is the fact that all the "civilized" and "Christian" nations of the world have watched it for months without moving a finger to check it. The sober truth is that civilization is not progress. and that the Christianity of to-day is not Christian.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT EASTERN TURKEY.

IN order that the ordinary reader may grasp the situation in Armenia, information is given at this point in regard to the country itself, its administration, the elements that compose the population, and their relations to one another.

The massacre took place in the mountainous Sassoun district just south of Moosh, two days' ride west of Bitlis, a large city where the Provincial-Governor and a permanent military force reside. It is near the western end of Lake Van, about eight hundred miles east of Constantinople, two hundred and fifty miles south of Trebizond on the Black Sea, and only one hundred and fifty miles from the Russian and Persian frontiers of Asiatic Turkey. These distances do not seem great until the difficulties of travel are considered. The roads are, in most cases, bridle paths, impassable for vehicles, without bridges, infested with highwaymen, and unprovided with lodging-places. It is, therefore, necessary to go to the expense of hiring government guards, and to burden oneself with all articles likely to be needed on the way—tents, food supplies, cooking utensils,

beds, etc., which also imply cooks, baggage horses, and grooms. Thus equipped, it is possible, after obtaining the necessary government permits, often a matter of vexatious delay, to move about the country. The ordinary rate is from twenty to thirty miles a day. With a good horse and no baggage I have gone three hundred and fifty miles, from Harpoot to Van, in eight days, but that was quite exceptional. In spring, swollen streams and mud; in summer, oppressive heat; and in winter, storms, are serious impediments. In the neighborhood of Bitlis the telegraph poles are sometimes buried, and horses cannot be taken out of the stables on account of the snow. The mails are often weeks behind, both in arriving and departing, and even Turkish lightning seems to be *yavash*, and crawl sluggishly along the wires.

Turkish Armenia—by the way, “Armenia” is a name prohibited in Turkey—is a large plateau quadrangular in shape, and sixty thousand square miles in area, about the size of Iowa. It is bounded on the north by the Russian frontier, a line from the Black Sea to Mount Ararat, by Persia on the east, the Mesopotamian plain on the south, and Asia Minor on the west. It contains about six hundred thousand Armenians, which is only one fourth the number found in all Turkey. The surface is rough, consisting of valleys and plains from four to six thousand feet above sea-level, broken and shut in by bristling peaks and mountain ranges, from ten to seventeen thousand feet high, as in the case of Ararat. Ancient Armenia greatly varied in extent at different epochs,

reaching to the Caspian at one time, and even bordering on the Mediterranean Sea during the Crusades. It included the Southern Caucasus, which now contains a large, growing, prosperous, and happy Armenian population under the Czar, whose government allows them the free exercise of their ancestral religion, and admits them to many high civil and military positions. The Armenians now number about four million, of whom two million five hundred thousand are in Turkey, one million two hundred and fifty thousand in Russia, one hundred and fifty thousand in Persia and other parts of Asia, one hundred thousand scattered through Europe, and five thousand in the United States.

The scenery, while harsh, owing to the lack of verdure, is on a grand scale. Around the shores of the great Van Lake are many views of entrancing beauty. The climate is temperate and the atmosphere brilliant and stimulating. It is a dry, treeless region, but fertile under irrigation, and abounding in mineral wealth, including coal. Owing to primitive methods of agriculture, and to danger while reaping and even planting crops, only a small part is under cultivation, and frequent famines are the result. The mineral resources are entirely untouched, because the Turks lack both capital and brains to develop them, and prevent foreigners from doing it lest this might open the door for further European inspection and interference with their methods of administering the country.

All local authority is practically in the hands of the *Valis*, provincial governors, who are sent from

Constantinople to represent the sovereign, and are accountable to him alone. The blind policy which was inaugurated by the present Sultan of dismissing non-Moslems from every branch of public service—post, telegraph, custom-house, internal revenue, engineering, and the like—has already been carried out to a large extent all over the empire, and especially in Armenia. The frequent changes in Turkish officials keeps their business in a state of “confusion worse confounded,” and incites them to improve their chance to plunder while it lasts. Traces of the relatively large revenue, wrung from the people, and spent in improvements of service to them, are very hard to find.

THE INHABITANTS.

Probably about one half of the population of Turkish Armenia is Mohammedan, composed of Turks and Kurds. The former are mostly found in and near the large cities, such as Erzingan, Baibourt, Erzerum, and Van, and the plains along the northern part. The Kurds live in their mountain villages over the whole region. The term Kurdistan, which in this region the Turkish Government is trying to substitute for the historical one Armenia, has no political or geographical propriety except as indicating the much larger area over which the Kurds are scattered. In this vague sense it applies to a stretch of mountainous country about fifteen hundred miles in length, starting between Erzingan and Malatiah, and sweeping east and south over into Persia as far as Kermanshah.



A KURD OF THE OLD TYPE.

The number of the Kurds is very uncertain. Neither Sultan nor Shah has ever attempted a census of them; and as they are very indifferent taxpayers, the revenue tables—wilfully distorted for political purposes—are quite unreliable. From the estimates of British consular officers there appear to be about one and a half million Turkish Kurds, of whom about 600,000 are in the *vilayets* of Erzroom, Van, and Bitlis, and the rest in the *vilayets* of Harpoot, Diarbekir, Mosul, and Bagdad. This is a very liberal estimate. There are also supposed to be about 750,000 in Persia.¹

The Kurds, whose natural instincts lead them to a pastoral and predatory life, are sedentary or nomad according to local and climatic circumstances. Where exposed to a severe mountain winter they live exclusively in villages, and in the case of Bitlis have even formed a large part of the city population. But the tribes in the south, who have access to the Mesopotamian plains, prefer a migratory life, oscillating with the season between the lowlands and the mountains. The sedentary greatly outnumber the nomad Kurds, but the latter are more wealthy, independent, and highly esteemed. There is, probably, little ethnic distinction between the two classes.

A fourteenth-century list of Kurdish tribes contains many names identical with those of powerful families who claim a remote ancestry. "There was, up to a recent period, no more picturesque or interesting scene to be witnessed in the East than the court of one of these great Kurdish chiefs, where, like another Saladin, [who was a Kurd himself,] the bey ruled in

¹ *Encyc. Britannica*, "Kurdistan."

patriarchal state, surrounded by hereditary nobility, regarded by his clansmen with reverence and affection, and attended by a body-guard of young Kurdish warriors, clad in chain armor, with flaunting silken scarfs, and bearing javelin, lance, and sword as in the time of the crusaders.”¹ Within two days’ ride southeast of Van, I found the ruins of four massive Kurdish castles at Shaddakh, Norduz, Bashkallah, and Khoshab, which must have rivalled those of the feudal barons on the Rhine. The Armenian and Nestorian villagers were much better off as serfs of the powerful masters of these strongholds than as the victims of Kurdish plunder and of Ottoman taxation and oppression which they now are.

The Kurds are naturally brave and hospitable, and, in common with many other Asiatic races, possess certain rude but strict feelings of honor. But since their power has been broken by the Turks, their castles ruined, and their chiefs exiled, these finer qualities and more chivalrous sentiments have also largely disappeared under the principle of *noblesse oblige* reversed. In most regions they have degenerated into a wild, lawless set of brigands, proud, treacherous, and cruel. The traditions of their former position and power serve only to feed their hatred of the Turks who caused their fall, and their jealousy and contempt of the Christians who have been for generations their serfs, whose progress and increase they cannot tolerate.

One who has a taste for adventure and is willing to take his life in his hands, can find among them as

¹ *Encyc. Britannica*, “Kurdistan.”

fine specimens of the human animal as are to be found anywhere—sinewy, agile, and alert, with a steady penetrating eye as cool, cold, and cruel as that



RUINS OF A KURDISH CASTLE AT KHOSHAB.

of a tiger. I vividly recollect having just this impression under circumstances analogous to that of a hunter who suddenly finds himself face to face with

a lord of the jungle. There was no sense of fear, at the time, but rather a keen delight and fascination in watching the magnificent creature before me. His thin aquiline face, his neck and hands were stained by the weather to a brown as delicate as that of a meerschaum pipe, and on his broad exposed breast the thick growth of hair obliterated any impression of nudeness. For a few moments he seemed engaged in some sinister calculation, but at last quietly moved away. Perhaps he wanted only a cigarette. Perhaps he wondered if I, too, had claws. The Winchester rifle behind his back did not escape my notice, nor did the gun across my saddle escape his. It is hardly necessary to remind those who may desire such experiences as the above, that the usual retinue of cooks, servants, and *zabtiéhs* should be dispensed with in order to secure the best opportunities for observation.

The Kurdish costumes, always picturesque, show much local variation in cut and color. The beys and khans of the colder north almost invariably prefer broadcloth, and find the finest fabrics and richest shades—specially imported for them—none too good. But the loose flowing garments of the Sheikhs and wealthy Kocher nomads of the south are often very inexpensive, and suggest Arab simplicity and dignity. There is, no doubt, considerable Arab blood in some of these families, who refer to the fact with pride.

The women of the Kurds, contrary to usual Mohammedan custom, go unveiled and have large liberty, but there is no reason to suspect their virtue. Their prowess, also, is above reproach, and rash would

be the man, Turk or Christian, who would venture to invade the mountain home when left in charge of its female defenders. On the whole, the Kurds are a race of fine possibilities, far superior to the North American Indian, to whom they are often ignorantly compared. Under a just, intelligent, and firm government much might be expected of them in time.

They keep up a strict tribal relation, owing allegiance to their Sheikhs, some of whom are still strong and rich, and engage in bitter feuds with one another. They could not stand a moment against the Ottoman power if determined to crush and disarm them. But three years ago His Majesty summoned the chiefs to the capital, presented them with decorations, banners, uniforms, and military titles, and sent them back to organize their tribes into cavalry regiments, on whom he was pleased to bestow the name *Hamedieh*, after his own. Thus, shrewdly appealing to their pride of race, and winking at their subsequent acts, the Sultan obtained a power eager in time of peace to crush Armenian growth and spirit, and a bulwark that might check, in his opinion, the first waves of the next dreaded Russian invasion. In the last war the Kurdish contingent was worse than useless as was shown by Mr. Norman,¹ of the *London Times*.

The Armenians, a very important element of the population, are generally known as being bright, practical, industrious, and moral. They are of a very peaceable disposition, and entirely unskilled in the use of arms, the mere possession of which

¹ *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877.*

is a serious crime in the case of Christians, although the Kurds are well equipped with modern rifles and revolvers, and always carry them. Their great and fundamental weakness, seen through all their history, is a lack of coherence, arising from their exaggerated individualism. They have the distinction of being the first race who accepted Christianity, King Dertad receiving baptism in 276 A. D., thirty-seven years before Constantine ventured to issue even the Edict of Toleration. Their martyr roll has grown with every century. The fact that the Armenian stock exists at all to-day, is proof of its wonderful vitality and excellent quality. For three thousand years Armenia, on account of her location, has been trampled into dust both by devastating armies and by migrating hordes. She has been the prey of Nebuchadnezzar, Xerxes, and Alexander; of the Romans, the Parthians, and Persians; of Byzantine, Saracen, and Crusader; of Seljuk and Ottoman, and Russian and Kurd. Through this awful record, the Christian church founded by Gregory, "The Illuminator," has been the one rallying point and source of strength, and this explains the tremendous power of the Cross on the hearts of all, even of the most ignorant peasant.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHRONIC CONDITION OF ARMENIA AND KURDISTAN.

MANY statements in regard to the state of affairs in Eastern Turkey are criticised as being too sweeping and general, and the inference is drawn that they are exaggerations, not based on exact knowledge of the facts. This chapter will, therefore, contain nothing but definite incidents and figures, names and places also being added regardless of consequences. This information is furnished by a trustworthy authority on the ground, and has already been published in *The Independent*, of New York, January 17, 1895, from which I quote verbatim. It shows the usual course of things in times of so-called peace between Kurds and their Christian slaves, and indicates to what sort of a life these Armenian, Jacobite, and Nestorian Christians are condemned when no massacre is in hand. From my own residence and travels in Armenia, I know that the incidents related would apply to hundreds of villages with simply a change of name.

"A Partial List of Exactions made upon the Village of Mansurich of Bohtan (Kaimakamlik of Jezireh) by the government, and by Mustapha Pasha, a Kurdish Kocher, or nomad chief, in 1893 :

SUMMARY.

1. Government Exaction	{ Excess of official demand	3,000 ps. ¹	
	{ Amount of double tax	4,000	
	{ Produce taken by gendarmes.....	2,000	9,000 ps.
2. Exaction by M. Pasha.	Excess of tithe revenue	1,500	
	Damage to crops.....	2,000	3,500
Total excess taken from village for 1893.....			12,500
Total of legitimate taxes on village for the year...			14,000

The village complained to the government of Mustapha Pasha's exactions, but no redress was given by the government, nor anything done to Mustapha Pasha, who, when he learned of their having made complaint, sent droves of sheep to devour the crops that remained, viz., five pieces of ground sown and bearing cotton, millet, flaxseed, etc., valued at 2000 piasters."

"*Partial List of Exaction by Aghas of Shernakh* (one day north of Jezireh), from Hassana of Bohtan, during years 1891-'93. Hassana has sixty houses :

1893.		
Use of 30 men to carry flour for Mohammed		
Agha, 2 days.....		150 ps.
For Mohammed Agha, cash 10 liras.....		1,000
" " " 15 pieces of cloth.....		150
" Taher Agha, cash 14 liras.....		1,400
" " " taken from village priest, cash		
75 ps., saddle 75 ps., watch		
200 ps.....		350
" Sahdoon Agha, cash 2 liras.....		200
" Mohammed.....		120
Carried forward.....		3,370 ps.

¹ A piastre is a Turkish coin of about five cents, or two pence-half penny. In this region the pay of a day laborer is from two to five piastres.

Brought forward.....	3,370 ps.
For Khorsheed	57
“ Mohammed Agha, harvest, 500 men at 3 ps..	1,500
“ “ “ repair of his roads, 65 men,	
“ “ “ 3 days.....	487
“ “ “ repair of his roads, 50 men,	
“ “ “ 3 days.....	375
“ “ “ preparation of boiled wheat	
“ “ “ for winter, 450 men and	
“ “ “ 14 animals.....	1,160
“ “ “ building house in Dader,	
“ “ “ 150 men.....	375
“ “ “ 2000 ceiling sticks, 10	
“ “ “ posts.....	554
“ “ “ 4 large trees for rafters, at	
“ “ “ 50 ps.....	200
Total for 1893	8,078 ps.

The above were noted in a book at the time of the occurrence by a village priest, as being seen by him personally, and do not give the great part of the exactions of the Shernakh Kurds, which he did not see.

One item additional to above: all the cotton of Mohammed Agha of Shernakh is, by the villagers, beaten, spun, twisted, woven, and returned as cloth (involving many days' labor and two days' journey), and any weight lost in the making up the amount must be made good.

This oppression is increasing from year to year. The above priest noted for years 1880-'82, taken by Aghas—cash, 4141 ps.; 90 animals used, 450 ps.; 314 men used, 785 ps. Total for three years, 5376, as over against 10,973 ps. for three years, 1891-'93.”

“Testimony given in writing, by a Christian of the District of Berwer, in reference to the oppression of Christians in that district by the Kurds, of which he himself was an eye-witness, the examples given being confined to three small villages and of recent occur-

rence. He gives the names of places and of the parties concerned, both Kurds and Christians. We summarize them.

Murders.—Eight men mentioned by name, others generalized.

Robbery.—Cash, 9 liras; again 10 liras; again 15 liras; smaller sums being taken continually.

Mohammed Beg, of Berwer, and his relatives responsible in greater part for the above; also for robbing of two houses in Ina D'Noony.

For generations these Christians have sown the fields of these Kurds, harvested them, done their threshing, irrigated their fields, cut and brought in the grass as fodder for the sheep for use during the winter, together with much other labor, and all without recompense, they finding themselves.

(These things are accompanied, of course, with cursings and beatings.)"

"A number of Christian villages lying farther back in the mountains are even more severely oppressed. The people are literally bought and sold as slaves. In other districts the buying and selling of Christians by Kurds is common."

"Village of Shakh (five hours from Jezireh); like Mansurieh deserted for months by reason of extortion by tax collectors. Many of the people lived during the winter in caves in the mountains."

"The writer was in Nahrwan when the Kaimakam of Jezireh came, several weeks after a murder, to examine into it. The examination was rendered so oppressive to the Christians that the people were glad to declare that nothing had happened, in order to

escape any further inquisition. Even the old mother of the murdered man was frightened until she declared that she did not know of any such occurrence, and had no complaints to make against anybody."

"Kannybalaver—Kaimakamlik of Amadia. During the years 1893-'94 this village was raided several times by the Gugier and Sendier Kurds of the Kaimakamlik of Jezireh. They took one hundred head of animals, field tools, household utensils, beds, wool and yarn, gall-nuts—all of their fall gathering,—and dry goods which had been brought in to sell. At their last visit everything movable was carried off, and the people deserted the village. A leading man of the village, Gegoo by name, was seized by the Kurds, carried for several miles, and was then murdered in cold blood. There were about one hundred Kurds in the band led by Ahrno, brother of Hassu of Ukrul and Kerruvanu. The chief men of their village are Sherriffu and Hassu, who would be responsible for such a raid."

"In the city of Mosul, where there is a Vali, Christians are robbed and killed openly. Three cases are given. Last year a young man, of the Protestant community, of high standing in the city as a merchant, was standing before his door when two young Kurds of notorious character came along, and one of them, without the slightest provocation, at the time or previously, from mere wantonness, stabbed him, and would have killed him had he not been restrained. The family of the man, though one of the most influential families among the Christians of the city, did not dare to make accusation against him, knowing that the only result would be more bloodshed."

“An old missionary who has been familiar with the region from Bohtan to Amadia for years, says these oppressions are increasing, and unless something is done speedily, all the Christian villages of these various districts will soon fall into the hands of the Kurds just as they have in Zabur.”

“These instances of oppression given are but a few of the many which might be given. Indeed it is not these greater occurrences, as the big raids and murders, which are the most serious to the Christian. It is the daily constant exactions and oppressions which are crushing the life out of them.”

A whole chapter might well be devoted to the oppression by government officials in assessing and collecting taxes. This evil is general, affecting all Turkey. A brief summary of these abuses as generally practised will be given. In view of the poverty-stricken condition of the land, even the legitimate taxes are an exceedingly heavy burden on Moslem and Christian alike, but the burden is greatly increased by the methods here classified :

SUMMARY OF ABUSES.

“I. Unjust and corrupt assessments.

1. Villagers are compelled to give assessors presents of money to prevent them from over estimating the taxable persons and property.

2. Assessors, to secure additional bribes, signify their willingness to make an underestimate. This, in turn, affords opportunity for blackmail, which is used by succeeding officials.”

"II. Injustice and severity in collecting.

1. The collectors, like the assessors, have ways of extorting presents and bribes from the people.

2. The collectors, as a rule, go to the villages on Sunday, as on that day they find the people in the village. They frequently interrupt the Christian services, and show disrespect to their churches or places of prayer.

3. The collection of the taxes is accompanied with unnecessary abuse and reviling, sometimes even with wanton destruction of property.

4. Disregard of impoverished condition of people. Even after several failures of crops in succession, when famine was so severe that the people were many of them being fed by foreign charity, the taxes were collected in full and with severity.

Their food supply, beds, household utensils, and farming implements were seized by the collectors in lieu of taxes. Many were compelled to borrow money at enormous rates of interest, mortgaging their fields and future crops. Unscrupulous officials and other Kurds, in whose interests such opportunities are created, thus became possessed of Christian villages, the people of which henceforth becoming practically slaves to them.

5. These collectors make false returns of taxes received. The official in the city is secured by a bribe, and the matter is kept quiet until a succeeding set of officials come into office. They send their officers to the villages to present claims for back taxes. The villagers in vain contend that they have paid them. They have no receipts. They do not

dare to ask for them. Or the head man of the village who keeps the account has been bribed to falsify his accounts. These taxes are collected again, entailing much suffering upon the people.

6. The books in the government offices at the Kaimakamlık are often incorrect through mistakes or dishonesty, and in consequence taxes are paid on fictitious names or on persons who have been dead for years."

"III. *Farming of taxes.*

Taxes are often farmed out to the highest bidder, who usually is some powerful Kurdish chief. Either in consequence of his power, or by means of bribes, he is secure from interference on the part of the government. He collects the amount due the government and then takes for himself as much as he chooses, his own will or an exhausted threshing-floor being the only limit to his rapacity.

While he is collector for these villages they are considered as belonging to him. During the year his followers pay frequent visits to the villages. They are ignorant and brutal, and on such visits, as also when collecting taxes, they treat the villagers with the utmost severity."

"IV. All the above assessors and collectors—and they are many, a different one for each kind of tax, personal, house and land, sheep, tobacco, etc.—on their visits to the villages, take with them *a retinue of servants and soldiers, who, with their horses, must be kept at the expense of the village, thus entailing a very heavy additional burden upon them.* Soldiers and servants sent to the villagers to make

collections, very naturally take something for themselves."

All the preceding testimony refers to regions where Jacobite and Nestorian Christians predominate and thus prove that Armenians are by no means the only sufferers.

The same state of affairs was found by Mrs. Bishop, who made investigations on the ground five years ago.

"On the whole, the same condition of alarm prevails among the Armenians as I witnessed previously among the Syrian¹ *rayahs*. It is more than alarm, it is *abject terror*, and not without good reason. In plain English, general lawlessness prevails over much of this region. Caravans are stopped and robbed, travelling is, for Armenians, absolutely unsafe, sheep and cattle are being driven off, and outrages, which it would be inexpedient to narrate, are being perpetrated. Nearly all the villages have been reduced to extreme poverty, while at the same time they are squeezed for the taxes which the Kurds have left them without the means of paying.

The repressive measures which have everywhere followed 'the Erzerum troubles' of last June [1890]—the seizure of arms, the unchecked ravages of the Kurds, the threats of the Kurdish Beys, who are boldly claiming the sanction of the government for their outrages, the insecurity of the women, and a dread of yet worse to come—have reduced these peasants to a pitiable state."²

¹ Often called Nestorian.

² Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, vol. ii., p. 374, 375.

Through the influence of the British Ambassador at Constantinople Mrs. Bishop was allowed to state the situation to the Grand Vizier in person, and on arriving in England she presented a detailed statement of facts to the Foreign Office and also to a Parliamentary Committee.

That the recent outrages in Sassoun are conspicuous by their extent rather than character, the following incident, which came within the author's own knowledge, on the ground at the time, will show. In June, 1893, four young Armenians and their wives, living only two miles from the city of Van, where the Governor and a large military force reside, were picking herbs on the hillside. They carefully kept together and intended to return before night. They were observed by a band of passing Kurds, who, in broad daylight, fell upon the defenceless party, butchered the young men, and, as to the brides, it is needless to relate further. The villagers going out the next day found the four bodies, not simply dead, but slashed and disfigured almost beyond recognition. They resolved to make a desperate effort to let their wrongs at least be known.

Hastily yoking up four rude ox carts, they placed on each the naked remains of one of the victims, with his distracted widow sitting by the side, shorn of her hair in token of dishonor. This gruesome procession soon reached the outskirts of the city, where it was met by soldiers sent to turn it back. The unarmed villagers offer no resistance, but declare their readiness to perish if not heard. The soldiers shrink from extreme measures that might cause

trouble among the thirty thousand Armenians of Van, who are now rapidly gathering about the scene. The Turkish bayonets retreat before the bared breasts of the villagers. With ever increasing numbers, but without tumult, the procession passed before the doors of the British and Russian Vice-Consulates, of the Persian Consul-General, the Chief of Police and other high officials, till it paused before the great palace of the Governor.

At this point Bahri Pasha, who is still Governor, stuck his head out of the second-story window and said: "I see it. Too bad! Take them away and bury them. I will do what is necessary." Within two days some Kurds were brought in, among whom were several who were positively identified by the women; but, upon their denying the crime, they were immediately released and escaped. The utter hopelessness of securing any justice was so apparent, and experience had so often demonstrated the danger of arousing the Kurds to greater atrocity by further efforts to punish them, that the case was dropped and soon forgotten in the callousness produced by other cases of frequent occurrence. The system of mail inspection is so effective (all letters of subjects must be handed in open at the post-office) and the danger of reporting is so great that I doubt that any account of this incident has ever been given to the civilized world. This case was doubtless reported by the former British Vice-Consul, unless he was busy hunting, and, as usual, was buried in the archives of the Foreign Office for "state reasons."

A foreign physician, never a missionary, and now

out of the country, told me that during a large practice of a year and a half in Armenia, while using every effort to save life, only one case was remembered of regret by the doctor for a fatal ending,—so sad is the lot of those who survive. This instance will explain the strange statement. A call came to see a young man sent home from prison in a dying condition. He could not speak, and had to be nourished for days by artificial feeding, because his stomach could not retain food. Constant and skilful care for a month brought him back to life, from the condition to which his vile, dark, unventilated cell and scanty food had brought him. As soon as the police learned of his unexpected recovery, he was seized and re-imprisoned, though an only son, with a widowed mother and sister dependent upon him. When last heard of, he was still “awaiting trial.” Such confinement is a favorite method of intimidation and blackmail in the case of the innocent, and, in the case of the guilty, amounts to punishment without the cost and labor involved in proving the guilt and securing sentence by legal process.

From my own house in Van goods of considerable value were stolen in November, 1893. Though I had good clues to the guilty parties and would have been glad to recover my property, I felt constrained to use every precaution *not* to let the affair come to the ears of the police, lest they should use it as a pretext for searching the houses of many innocent Armenians, in the hope of finding a letter, book, or weapon of some kind, which might serve as an excuse for imprisonment. This course exposed me to

further attacks of thieves and necessitated a night watchman.

WHY ARE THESE FACTS NOT KNOWN?

The ignorance and incredulity of the public is a most significant commentary on the situation. But the explanation is simple. In the nature of the case, in reports of outrages where the victims or their friends are still within the clutches of the Turks, all names of individuals and often the exact locality must be concealed. Such anonymous accounts naturally arouse little interest, and, of course, cannot be verified. The former British Consul-General at Erzerum, Mr. Clifford Lloyd, showed me at that place many such reports sent to him by members of Parliament for verification. He was unable to verify them, but said that the reports gave a correct impression of the condition of the country. At that very time, October, 1890, Mr. Lloyd called attention, in an official dispatch, published in the "*Blue Books*," to :

"1. The insecurity of the lives and properties of the Armenians. 2. The insecurity of their persons, and the absence of all liberty of thought and action. 3. The unequal status held by the Christian as compared with the Mussulman in the eyes of the government."

On this subject there are five channels of varying market value. First. Consular reports, meagre and often inaccessible. The United States has no consuls in Armenia, and consequently no "official" knowledge of its condition. European consuls are expected to report nothing that they are not abso-

lutely sure of, and are given to understand, both by their own governments and by that of Turkey, that they must not make themselves obnoxious in seeking information. They are, at best, passive until their aid is sought, and then alarm the suppliants by refusing to touch the case unless allowed to use names. Second. Missionaries, whose mouths are sealed. They would be the best informed and most trustworthy witnesses. But they feel it their first duty to safeguard the great benevolent and educational interests committed to them by not exciting the suspicion and hostility of the government. Their position is a delicate one, conditional on their neutrality, like that of officers of the Red Cross Society in war. Third. Occasional travellers, whose first impressions are also often their last and whose hasty jottings are likely to be very interesting and may be very misleading. Not so in the case of Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, whom I had the pleasure of meeting there, and who embodied the result of her careful investigations in an article entitled, "The Shadow of the Kurd" in *The Contemporary Review*.¹ Fourth. Much evidence from Armenian sources, which is often unjustly discredited as being the exaggeration, if not fabrication, of "revolutionists who seek a political end." Fifth. Turkish official reports, often obtained by corrupt or violent means, or invented to suit the circumstances. Though the financial credit of the Ottoman Government was long ago exhausted, there are some well meaning people who still place confidence in Turkish explanations and promises.

¹ *The Contemporary Review*, May and June, 1891.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The scope of this book does not permit a discussion of even the Armenian phase of the Eastern question, beyond a bare reference to its possible three-fold solution. There is, first, Russian annexation, a step for which the sufferers themselves are praying, and which Russia is prepared to execute at a moment's notice. If this were the only alternative from present conditions, it should be universally welcomed. Russia is crude, stupid, and, in certain aspects, brutal, but she is not decrepit, debauched, and doting like official Turkey. The diseases of the "Sick Man" are incurable and increasing, while the bully of the North is young, of good blood, and with an energy suggestive of a force of nature. Russia shaves half the head of seceders from the Orthodox Church and transports them. Turkey, with more tact, quietly "disposes" of converts from Islam, many of whom would step forth if the prospect were less than death. The Jewish question, from the Russian standpoint, is largely a social and industrial one, like the Chinese question in the United States. When the writer passed from Turkish Armenia into the Caucasus, it was from a desert to a garden; from danger to perfect security; from want and sorrow to plenty and cheer.

Until lately, thousands of Turkish Armenians have been in the habit of crossing the Russian border in spring, earning good wages during the summer, and returning to spend the winter with their families. This has opened their eyes to the contrast between the two lands and turned their hearts to Russia.

The second solution is Armenian autonomy, like that of Bulgaria, the fond dream of those who ignore the geographical difficulties, the character, and distribution of the population, and the temper of Russia and other powers by whom it would have to be established and maintained.

The only other method is radical and vigorous administrative reforms, which the European powers should initiate, and report to Turkey, instead of *vice versa*, as arranged in Article LXI. of the Berlin Treaty. These "Christian nations" have for sixteen years violated most sacred treaty obligations, and England a special guarantee for such reforms. While attended with difficulties, this is the most desirable solution, and is favored by the great mass of Armenians throughout Turkey, by the Anglo-Armenian Association,¹ founded by Prof. James Bryce, M.P., and by the Phil-Armenic Society in this country.² The real spirit and aim of the Armenian race, as a whole, is unfortunately obscured, in the mind of the public, by utterances and acts of a few irresponsible Armenian hot-heads, who have imbibed nihilistic views in Europe, and are trying, in a very bungling way, to apply them.

¹ *The Case for the Armenians.* London: Anglo-Armenian Association.

² *An Appeal to the Christians of America by the Christians of Armenia.* New York: Phil-Armenic Society.

CHAPTER IV.

OTTOMAN PROMISES AND THEIR FULFILLMENT.

IMPERIAL edicts of toleration, and promises of reform on the part of the Sublime Porte, have been very numerous, and have served Turkey well as political expedients. Their value is that of so much dust thrown in the eyes of Europe when her aid or her mercy was needful. As these reforms have all been promised under pressure, they have likewise been abandoned just so fast and so far as the pressure has been removed. In many cases there has been serious retrogression. The sow that is washed is forever returning to wallow in the mire. It is as true of the "Sick Man" as of him out of whom seven devils were cast, that the last state of that man is worse than the first. This is emphatically so in regard to the freedom of the press, the curtailment of religious and educational privileges, and the safety of the lives and property of Christians.

The following is a partial list of Turkish promises which have been broken in whole or in part, with the circumstances under which they were made.

1. In 1829, by the Treaty of Adrianople at the close of a war with Russia, Turkey promised to re-

form in her treatment of Orthodox Christians, and acknowledged Russia's right to interfere in their behalf.¹

2. In 1839 Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, in order to enlist European sympathy and aid—when the victorious Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha was threatening Constantinople—issued an Imperial rescript, the Hatti Sherif, in which he promised to protect the life, honor, and property of all his subjects irrespective of race or religion.

3. In 1844 the same Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid gave a solemn pledge that thenceforth no apostate from Mohammedanism *who had formerly been a Christian* should be put to death. This pledge was extorted from the Sultan by the Ambassador of Great Britain, supported by those of other Powers, after the public execution in Constantinople of a young Armenian, Ovagim, who had declared himself a Mohammedan, but who afterwards bravely maintained his Christian profession in the face of torture and death. Since that time many Moslems even have embraced Christianity, and have been put out of the way, quietly in most cases.

4. In 1850 the same Sultan, on the demand of the same Powers, in view of the continued and fierce persecution of the Protestant subjects of the Porte, granted the latter a charter, guaranteeing them liberty of conscience and all the rights as a distinct civil community, which had been enjoyed by the other Christian communities of the empire. But to this day the numerous Protestants of Stamboul have

¹ Morfill's *Russia*, p. 287. Putnam.

never been allowed to erect even *one church*, although they have owned a site and had the necessary funds, and been petitioning for a firman to build for fifteen years.¹ The Greek Protestants of Ordo, who have a church, are not allowed to worship in it. There are many other flagrant violations of this charter.

5. In 1856, after the Crimean War, Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, to anticipate demands which he knew would be included in the Treaty of Paris then being drawn up, issued the Imperial edict known as the Hatti Humayoun. This edict not only promised perfect equality of civil rights to all subjects of the Porte, but also added: "As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions, no subject of my empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall he in any way be annoyed on this account." But as the interpretation and enforcement of this edict has remained absolutely in the hands of the Turkish Government, it is needless to add that it has been a dead letter.²

6. In 1878 the Anglo-Turkish Convention, entered into just before the Treaty of Berlin, included these

¹ Rev. H. O. Dwight, *The Independent*, New York, January 17, 1895.

² At the time of the Crimean War Lord Aberdeen said:

"Notwithstanding the favorable opinion entertained by many, it is difficult to believe in the improvement of the Turks. It is true that, under the pressure of the moment, benevolent decrees may be issued; but these, except under the eye of some Foreign Minister, are entirely neglected. Their whole system is radically vicious and inhuman. I do not refer to fables which may be invented at St. Petersburg or Vienna, but to numerous despatches of Lord Stratford (de Radcliffe) himself, and of our own consuls, who describe a frightful picture of lawless oppression and cruelty." (Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, vol. ii., p. 528.) Quoted by Canon MacColl, *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1895.

words in its First Article: "His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the government and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories [Armenia]; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement [the keeping of Russia out of Armenia], His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England." Comment unnecessary.

7. In July, 1878, by the Treaty of Berlin, religious liberty and the public exercise of all forms of religion were guaranteed in separate articles to the people of Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, and finally to all subjects of the Porte in every part of the Ottoman Empire. Cases of glaring violation of the principle of religious liberty may be found in Appendix C. on *The Censorship of the Press*.

The Sixty-first Article of the same treaty reads thus: "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application."

What the condition of Turkey was three years later, not simply in Armenia, but throughout Asia Minor, is shown by a report of Mr. Wilson, British Consul-General in Anatolia.

"There has probably never been a time in which

the prestige of the Courts has fallen so low, or in which the administration of justice has been so venal and corrupt. The most open and shameless bribery is practised from highest to lowest; prompt, even-handed justice for rich and poor alike is unknown; sentence is given in favor of the suitor who 'places' his money most judiciously; imprisonment or freedom has in many places become a matter of bribery; robbers, when arrested, are protected by members of the Court, who share their spoil; a simple order may send an innocent man to prison for months; crime goes unpunished, and all manner of oppression and injustice is committed with impunity. The Cadis,¹ especially those in the cazas,² are, as a rule, ignorant men, with no education, knowing little of law, except the Sheri, on which they base their decisions, and sometimes not overmuch of that. As to the members, it is sufficient to say that they are nearly all equally ignorant of law, and that probably not twenty-five per cent. of them can write Turkish, or read the sentences to which they attach their seals. In the Commercial Courts, the Presidents are frequently entirely ignorant of the duties which they have to perform. The low pay of the Cadis, the short term—two years—during which they hold their appointments, and the manner in which they obtain them, render the receipt of bribes almost a necessity. The first thought of a Cadi who buys an appointment in the provinces is to recoup himself for his outlay; the second, to obtain enough money to purchase a new place when his term of office is finished. Even under this system men are to be found who refuse

¹ Judge.² Local districts.

to receive bribes ; and there are others who, whilst giving way to temptation, deplore the necessity to do so.”¹

The sequel to the Treaty of Berlin is found in the next chapter.

The non-fulfilment of Ottoman promises in regard to Christian subjects, and the frequent massacres of the latter are an exact fulfilment of

THE OFFICIAL PRAYER OF ISLAM

which is used throughout Turkey, and daily repeated in the Cairo “Azhar” University by ten thousand Mohammedan students from all lands. The following translation is from the Arabic :

“I seek refuge with Allah from Satan, [the *rejeem*] the accursed. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful ! O Lord of all Creatures ! O Allah ! Destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion ! O Allah ! Make their children orphans, and defile their abodes ! Cause their feet to slip ; give them and their families, their households and their women, their children and their relations by marriage, their brothers and their friends, their possessions and their race, their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all Creatures ! ”²

All who do not accept Mohammed are included among “the infidels” referred to in the prayer.

¹ Report of Mr. Wilson, *Blue-Book*, Turkey, No. 8 (1881), page 57, No. 48.

² *The Mohammedan Missionary Problem*, p. 31. Jessup. Philadelphia, Presb. Pub. Soc.

CHAPTER V.

THE OUTCOME OF THE TREATY OF BERLIN.

IT is quite needless to remark that Turkey, instead of doing anything to improve the condition of the Armenians, has done much to make it worse during the past fifteen years. The question now arises, what have the Powers signatory to the Berlin Treaty done to compel the Sublime Porte "to carry out the improvements and reforms" demanded in the Sixty-first Article? And what steps has Great Britain taken in addition, to discharge the additional obligation for the improvement of Armenia which she assumed by the so-called Cyprus Convention?

We find that in November, 1879, the English Government, seeing that matters throughout Asia Minor were really going from bad to worse, went the length of ordering an English squadron to the Archipelago for the purpose of a naval demonstration. The Turkish Government was greatly excited, and with a view to getting the order countermanded, made the fairest promises.

But England was not the only Power aroused. On June 11, 1880, an Identical Note of the Great Powers demanded the execution of the clauses of

the Treaty of Berlin which had remained in suspense. In the conclusion of the Identical Note a clear recognition is made of the fact that *the interest of Europe, as well as that of the Ottoman Empire, requires the execution of the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and that the joint and incessant action of the Powers can alone bring about this result.*

On July 5th, the Turkish Foreign Minister sent a Note in reply to the representatives of the Powers. "It is of great length and small real value, except as combining in a remarkable degree the distinguishing characteristics of modern Ottoman diplomacy, namely, first, great facility in assimilating the administrative and constitutional jargon of civilized countries; second, consummate cunning in concealing under deceptive appearances the barbarous reality of deeds and intentions; third, cool audacity in making promises which there is neither the power nor desire to make good; and, finally, a paternal and oily tone, intended to create the impression that the Turkish Government is the victim of unjust prejudices and odious calumnies."

As soon as the reply of the Porte was received, Earl Granville sent copies to the British Consuls in Asia Minor, inviting observations thereon. Eight detailed replies to this request are published in the Blue-Book.¹ They concur in a crushing condemnation of the Ottoman Government.

These conclusions, moderately and very diffusely expressed in diplomatic phraseology, are reflected in

¹ *Blue-Book*, Turkey, No. 6, 1881, reports of Wilson, Bennett, Chermiside, Trotter, Stewart, Clayton, Everett, and Bilotti.

the Collective Note which was sent on Sept. 11, 1880, to the Sublime Porte by the Ambassadors of the Great Powers. On October 3d, without making the slightest references to censures which had been addressed to it, and even appearing completely to ignore the Collective Note, the Porte, assuming a haughty tone, merely notified the Powers of what it intended to do.

In a Circular of the 12th of January, 1881, Earl Granville tried again to induce the other five Powers to join in further representations to the Sublime Porte on the subject. But the other Powers seem to have thought that the diplomatic comedy had gone far enough, and sent evasive answers. Prince Bismarck expressed the opinion that there would be "serious inconvenience" in raising the Armenian question, and France hid behind Germany. Such action by the powers had been anticipated by the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Mr. Goschen, who had already written to Earl Granville: "If they [the Powers] refuse, or give only lukewarm support, the responsibility will not lie with Her Majesty's Government." The whole correspondence was simply a matter of form.¹ I have condensed this outline of events since the Treaty of Berlin from *Armenia, the Armenians, and the Treaties*,² following as far as possible the words of the writer, M. G. Rolin-Jaequemyns, a high authority on International Law.

From 1881 to the present time, almost without exception, England, on her part, has allowed

¹ *Blue-Book*, Turkey, 1881, p. 242.

² Published by John Heywood, London, 1891, pp. 82-89.

no mention in her Blue-Books of the manner in which her *protégés* and those of Europe have been treated. Her energies have seemed to be devoted to stifling the ever-increasing cry of despair from Armenia, instead of attempting her rescue or relief. The other Powers are only less guilty, in proportion as they have done less to perpetuate Ottoman misrule, and have made less pretence of sympathy and help for the oppressed. Freeman says of England,

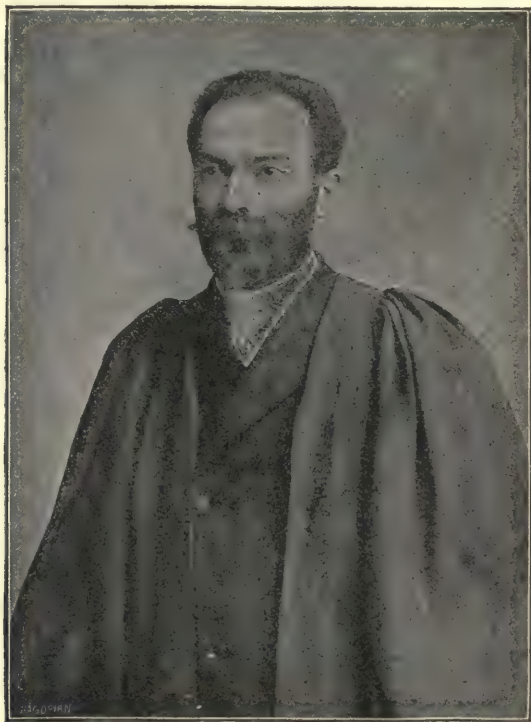
“ By waging a war on behalf of the Turk, by signing a treaty which left the nations of South-eastern Europe [and Asia Minor] at the mercy of the Turk, by propping up the wicked power of the Turk in many ways, we have done a great wrong to the nations which are under his yoke; and that wrong which we have ourselves done it is our duty to undo.”¹

It is thus clearly seen that both the Sixty-first Article of the Berlin Treaty, and the Cyprus Convention as well, have been of positively no value in securing for the Armenians any of the reforms which were therein recognized as imperatively called for and guaranteed. It is also clear that the condition of Armenia, and of Turkey as a whole, is even vastly worse and more hopeless than it was twenty years ago.

This condition, I further maintain, is in large measure directly attributable to those treaties themselves and to the attitude subsequently assumed by the Powers which signed them. It is said that the Armenians have brought trouble on themselves, by stirring up the Turks. I ask what stirred the Armenians up? It was primarily the Sixty-first Article

¹ Freeman, *The Turks in Europe*,

of the Treaty of Berlin. Many a time has that precious paragraph been quoted to me in the wilds of Kurdistan by common Armenian artisans and



PROFESSOR MINAS TCHÉRAZ.
Present at the Berlin Congress.

ignorant villagers. They had welcomed it as a second evangel, and believed the word of England as they did the gospels. *It was that Article which*

roused them from the torpor of centuries. They saw Bulgaria rise from her blood and shame and enter on a career of honor and prosperity under the ægis of European protection. Is it surprising that hopes and aspirations have been born anew in the heart of the Armenian race—a people not inferior to the Bulgarians and in many respects more talented?

I have rarely found it difficult to persuade intelligent Armenians that an autonomous Armenia is impracticable. But I have never been able to convince one of them that the course of England and the other powers has been anything but one of selfishness, jealousy, and dishonor as far as fulfilment of their treaty obligations is concerned.

During a residence of four years in Eastern Turkey I noticed a marked and rapid alienation of Armenian sentiment from England in favor of Russia, who now seems to them the only source of succor. *They* see in England only a dog in the manger.

There is another sequel to the Berlin Treaty and to the attitude of the powers, namely, its effect on the Turks themselves. The natural enmity and contempt of the Moslem rulers and population generally for the Christian subjects has been greatly increased by reason of the pressure which foreign Powers have occasionally brought to bear on the Turks in order to procure relief for the Christian. To be sure the only hope of such relief is from without. But the pressure should not be of a petty, nagging and galling nature. This is worse than nothing. *What is needed is prompt, decisive, and final action.*

And things have now arrived at such a pass that in such action lies the only hope of preventing a terrible catastrophe, which will eclipse even the massacres of Sassoun. The wheels of progress will not go backward except as they are broken. The Christians of Armenia can be exterminated, but it is too late for them to accept slavery or Islam. They may be slaughtered like sheep, but they will not all die like dogs. The revolutionary movement, as it is called, is thus far nothing but a blind turning of the worm. It is ill considered, without resources, reckless, and foreign to the real spirit, objects, and methods of the Armenians on Turkish soil. It is not denied that there are a few Armenians in Europe who, in despair and for lack of better teaching, have imbibed Nihilistic views and are trying, in a very bungling way, to apply them. They are hated by the vast majority of Armenians in Turkey. They are related to the question at issue in the same way and degree as train wreckers and box-car burners were to the industrial problem during the riots of Chicago in July last, and deserve the same treatment. The Turks take great pains to thrust them into public notice, as a cloak for themselves, and with good success. The Turkish Government and its partisans, in order to conceal the real character of the massacre in Sassoun, have made persistent, extensive, and dishonorable use of a letter by the first President of Robert College, Constantinople, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, written December 23, 1894. Dr. Hamlin's vigorous and indignant protest may be found in Appendix C.

The idea of Armenian revolution is a new thing

in the history of that peaceable race, which has quietly submitted for centuries to the yoke of the Turk. But it is the natural outcome of the horrible situation in Armenia since the Treaty of Berlin, and the disease is bound to grow more virulent and contagious until the European doctors apply vigorous and radical treatment to the "Sick Man." It is difficult to see how anything but a surgical operation can be helpful. The knife has frequently been used in the case of this incurable patient during the present century, and always with excellent results, as for instance in the case of Greece, Lebanon, Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Egypt.



ZEIBEK, TURKISH SOLDIER,
"IRREGULAR."

A situation in many respects parallel to that in Armenia existed until lately in Bosnia and Herzegovina. How quickly and completely that difficult problem has been solved, is narrated by M. de Blowitz in the October,

1894, issue of *The Nineteenth Century*, from which I condense in his own words.

“The orders, given after the taking over of the country, to surrender all arms or to destroy them, was given a sweeping application. Yet, before the victorious entry of the Austro-Hungarians, each Bosnian each Herzegovinian, was a walking arsenal.

“To-day weapons and ambushades are things of the romantic past. Twelve years have sufficed, under M. de Kallay’s administration, not only to remove all traces of the wild, inhospitable, inaccessible Bosnia of which I have been speaking, but indeed and especially to banish even the memory of those dark days of strenuous battle, and to wipe away from the hearts of both invader and invaded all traces of the hate which then animated them. In the year 1882, the superior administration of the two provinces (Bosnia and Herzegovina) passed into the hands of the Minister of Finance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who was then, and who is still, M. de Kallay. From this moment all is changed. The powers given to the new administration are almost unlimited. The civil element has been substituted for the military element, and pacification has succeeded conquest. The greatest effort is made to reassure all minds. Not a single minaret has disappeared, not a *muezzin* is deprived of his resources.”

A recent writer wisely says that “the Armenian question, if it ever be settled at all, must be taken out of the Turk’s hands, whether he like it or not. . . . And we have an opportunity now, which may never come our way again, of settling a diffi-

culty which, if allowed to develop much longer, will prove more fruitful of mischief than any with which we have been confronted for a generation or more.”¹

C. B. Norman, special correspondent of *The London Times*, in his *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*² wrote words which are even truer to-day. I condense:

“Naturally, since I have been here I have had many, very many, opportunities of conversing with Turkish officers and men on the so-called Eastern Question; and the consequence is that, arriving in the country a strong philo-Turk, deeply impressed with the necessity of preserving the ‘integrity of the Empire’ in order to uphold ‘British interests,’ I now fain would cry with Mr. Freeman: ‘Perish, British interests, perish our dominion in India, rather than that we should strike a blow on behalf of the wrong against the right!’”

“There is no finer race in the world than the Turk



TURKISH SOLDIER,
“REGULAR.”

¹ “Diplomatist,” “The Armenian Question” in *The New Review*, January, 1895.

² Pp. 158–9. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

³ Speech in St. James’s Hall, December, 1876.

proper. Brave, honest, industrious, truthful, frugal, kind-hearted, and hospitable, all who *know* the Osmanli speak well of him. He is as much oppressed by the curse of misgovernment as his Christian fellow-subject ; and had the members of the Eastern Question Association as keen a sense of justice as they have love of writing, they would long ago have obliterated the word 'Christian' from their lengthy documents, and striven to ameliorate the condition of the lower orders of the subjects of the Porte, down-trodden as they are by an effete section of the Mohammedan race, who have degenerated in mind, body, and estate, since coming in contact with Western civilization.

"I do not for one moment mean to deny that there are honest, energetic Turks, capable of exercising their talents for their country's good ; but these men are powerless. The vital powers of the nation are so sapped by centuries of misrule, the minds of the majority are so imbued with the belief that all ideas not born of Moslem brains and sanctified by Moslem usage are false, and to be scorned, that were any honest-minded gentleman to rise to power, and endeavor to check the present system of misgovernment, he would not remain in office one week. Captain Gambier's able article on the 'Life of Midhat Pasha' ¹ bears me out in this idea."

¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, January, 1878.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SULTAN AND THE SUBLIME PORTE.

CHURCH and State are one and inseparable in Turkey. The Sultan of the empire is also Calif of the Mohammedan religious world. He cannot abdicate either office, if he would, without vacating the other by the same act. In fact, herein lies the secret of the present Sultan's policy, which seems suicidal on general principles of government. He has, on the one hand, been lavish in the building and repairing of mosques, and in establishing Moslem schools throughout his dominions. On the other hand, he has infringed and ignored the ancient rights and privileges of the Christian Patriarchates which were guaranteed by Mohammed II., and have hitherto been regarded as sacred. He has blocked the creation of new Christian schools and churches, and even the repairing of such as are falling into decay. There were formerly thousands of non-Moslems in civil positions, faithfully serving the government; under the new régime, however, they have been systematically removed and excluded. And why has all this been done? Because the Sultan is a good conscientious Mohammedan, it is only fair to believe. Even if he were not a sincere believer, he

would still feel compelled to adopt the same course, as a matter of internal political necessity. The Moslem population look to him as the Defender of the Faith, girded with the sword of the Prophet. He feels it imperative at all hazards to regain lost prestige over his fanatical subjects, especially in the south, where rumblings of discontent and disloyalty are ominous.¹

Let us be reasonable and practical. Why longer exact or accept from the Sultan promises which he cannot make without doing violence to his own conscience and to his office, and which he cannot execute without imperilling his throne? You might as well ask the Pope to abandon the doctrines of temporal sovereignty and of infallibility, which to him are fundamental. If the situation in Turkey demands that anything be done, and if the rest of humanity and civilization have any responsibility in the matter, let practical statesmen proceed to business. All hope of reform from within depends on

¹ From a descendant of Dahir Billah, the thirty-fifth caliph of Bagdad, Sultan Selim I. "procured the cession of his claims, and obtained the right to deem himself the shadow of God upon earth. Since then the Ottoman padishah has been held to inherit the rights of Omar and Haroun, and to be the legitimate commander of the faithful, and, as such, possessed of plenary temporal and spiritual authority over the followers of Mohammed."² The Persians and Moors, however, reject this claim, and at the close of the Russian War not a few of the Arab muftis declared that the caliphate had been forfeited by the inglorious defeat of the Turks, and should now return to the Arab family of Koreish.

² Freeman, *The Saracens*, p. 158. Quoted by Jessup, *The Mohammedan Missionary Problem*, p. 21, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1879.

the distrustful, distracted, hoodwinked Sultan, who is clearly, in the circumstances, a helpless and pitiable object. But he should no more be allowed to stand in the way of the emancipation of Turkey, than the Pope was allowed to impede the making of Italy. "The Prisoner of the Vatican" has still abundant scope for his great and beneficent spiritual projects; and the Captive at Yildiz Palace—for such he has for years constituted himself—may also be allowed a sphere in which his personal virtues and ability shall shine forth, unobscured by the clouds and darkness that surround him now. He certainly would be better off, and his subjects also—Moslem no less than Christian.

The shrieks of ten thousand slaughtered Armenians pierce for the moment above the groans of others. But it should not be forgotten that all the races in Turkey are under the same curse, and that the present is a chance to help them as well as the Armenians.

According to the Koran, which is the basis and ultimate authority of Mohammedan law—Code Napoleon, treaty stipulations, and Imperial *Irads* notwithstanding,—the whole non-Moslem population of Turkey are outlaws. The millions of ancient, hereditary inhabitants, whether Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, Jacobite, Jew, or Syrian, are considered aliens. Their legal status is that of prisoners of war, with corresponding rights and responsibilities.¹ Not one of them is expected or even allowed to serve in the army. Non-Moslems, whose services are indis-

¹ Hughes, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 209, 210.

pensable to the government, are, in rare cases, put in civil offices, especially financial, for which no Mohammedan of sufficient integrity or ability can be found.

It cannot be denied that the above is true in theory, and it is equally true that the theory is carried out so far as fear of intervention by Christian nations permits.

But in this hour, when our hearts are stirred by the lot of our co-religionists under the Crescent, let us not forget that the Moslem population almost equally is cursed and impoverished by Turkish misrule, venality, and taxation. They drink the cup of woe, all but the more bitter dregs of religious persecution, which is reserved for Christian lips. Their benumbed condition, natural stolidity, and unquestioning obedience to Islam, a creed whose cardinal principle is submission,¹ accounts for the fact that they do not appear as a factor of the problem. Yet even Mohammedans often secretly come pleading that Europe take some interest in their case too. In the name of humanity, yes, of Christianity, let them not be forgotten.

"An Eastern Resident," writing from Constantinople, in an article entitled "Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid," in *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1895, gives an able analysis of the Sultan's position and policy, showing at the same time great appreciation of His Majesty as a man. His position and relations to the Sublime Porte are not well understood by the public, and could hardly be better stated than in these extracts :

¹ Hughes, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 10.

“So far as we can judge, the Sultan is a sincere and honest Mohammedan, and regards himself as a



H. I. M. ABD-UL-HAMID KHAN, THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

true Caliph—a successor of the Prophet—the chief defender of the faith, under God the absolute arbiter of its destinies. He has undoubtedly done his

best to reconcile the interests of the Caliphate with those of the Empire. . . .

“In one particular it [the policy of the Sultan] is condemned by most enlightened Mohammedans as strongly as by Christians. His attempt to concentrate the whole administration of the Empire in his own hands has led to the establishment of a dual government—that of the Palace and the Porte. The whole machinery of a government exists at the Porte. There are Ministers and fully organized departments. There is a Council of Ministers and a Council of State. All business is supposed to pass through their hands, and the whole administration is supposed to be subordinate to them. All is, of course, subject to the supreme will of the Sultan, but his official advisers and his official agents are at the Porte.

“In fact, however, there is another government at the Palace of Yildiz, more powerful than the official government, made up of chamberlains, mollahs, eunuchs, astrologers, and nondescripts, and supported by the secret police, which spares no one from the Grand Vizier down. The general policy of the Empire is determined by this government, and the most important questions of state are often treated and decided, while the highest officials of the Porte are left in absolute ignorance of what is going on. It is needless to add that the Porte and the Palace are at sword’s-point, and block each other’s movements as far as they can. . . .

“The Sultan evidently believes that he is equally independent of both these governments, and decides

all questions, great and small, for himself. In form he does so, but no man can act independently of all his sources of information, and of the personal influence of his *entourage*. Under the present system he makes himself responsible for every blunder and every iniquity committed in the Empire, but he has disgraced three distinguished Grand Viziers for telling him so, and seems to have no idea of the causes of the intense dissatisfaction with his government which prevails among his Mohammedan subjects. The Turks, as well as the Christians, also condemn the laws restricting personal freedom, which have increased in severity every year. In many ways these laws are more galling to the Turks than the Christians. . . .

“There is another evil connected with this system which may lead to serious difficulties with foreign Powers. All foreign relations are supposed to be managed through the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Grand Vizier, but these officials have no power and but little influence. They can promise nothing and do nothing. But in all delicate diplomatic questions it is essential to treat with responsible agents, and to discuss them with such agents in a way in which it is impossible to treat with the Sovereign himself. The present system has been a serious injury to Turkey. It has roused the hostility of all the Embassies and led them to feel and report to their governments, that there is no use in trying to do anything to save this Empire; that it is hopelessly corrupt, and the sooner it comes to an end the better for the world. There is no longer any concerted

action of Europe at Constantinople for the improvement of the condition of the people. . . .

“If Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid would come out of his palace, restore to the Porte its full responsibility, disband its secret police, trust his Mohammedan subjects, and do simple justice to the Christians, his life would be far more secure than it is to-day, with all precautions; his people and all the world would recognize the great and noble qualities which they now ignore, and welcome him as the wisest and best of all the Sultans. . . .

“The sad pity of it is that he will never do it. It is too late. The influence of the Palace favorites is too strong. He will appear in history not as the Sultan who saved the Empire, but as the one who might have saved it and did not.”

CHAPTER VII.

PREVIOUS ACTS OF THE TURKISH TRAGEDY.

IN this chapter¹ I shall take no account of events that have taken place in legitimate warfare, where the slain were foreign enemies or rebellious subjects of the Sultan, resisting with arms in their hands after being ordered to submit. The “insurgents”—as the Porte has called them—in all these cases have consisted of men, women, children, and infants, and in each case, by a curious coincidence, have been non-Mohammedan.

In all of these massacres, Turkish military or civil officers presided and directed the bloody work, as will be seen by reference to the authorities mentioned. There have been many other massacres of less than ten thousand during the intervals, which, to use the language of Beder Khan in Mosul (see Layard's *Nineveh*), have confirmed the whole Turkish principle, that “the Armenians were becoming too numerous, and needed diminishing.”

¹ Parts of this chapter are taken from an article, “Notes on the Armenian Massacre,” in *The Independent*, New York, January 31, 1895, by a high authority, who is compelled to sign himself “A Student of Modern History.”

This item of Turkey's account, for the past seventy-five years only, stands about as follows:

DEFENSELESS CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS MASSACRED IN
TURKEY 1820 TO 1896.

1822. Greeks, especially in Scio (Chios)	. 50,000 ¹
1850. Nestorians and Armenians, Kurdistan	10,000 ²
1860. Maronites and Syrians, Lebanon and Damascus	11,000 ³
1876. Bulgarians, Bulgaria	10,000 ⁴
1894-1895. Armenians, Asiatic Turkey	40,000 ⁵
Total	121,000

The above figures indicate the extent of the massacres mentioned. The following extracts reveal the occasion and manner in which they were carried out.

The first extract is in regard to the Greeks, and is a translation, by Mr. Robert Stein, from the French:

"The blow had been long premeditated. Sultan Mahmoud was in the habit of replying to every success of the Greek insurgents by ordering massacres,

¹ Latham, *Russian and Turk*, p. 417. London: W. H. Allen, 1878.

² Layard's *Nineveh*.

³ Colonel Churchill, *Druses and Maronites*, p. 219. London: Quaritch, 1862.

⁴ Eugene Schuyler and Correspondent MacGahan, quoted in *The Independent*, January 10, 1895.

⁵ Chapter I, of this book.

violations, and enslavement in regions without defense, where there were none but women, children, and inoffensive merchants. After the first exploit of Kanaris, the quiet commercial town of Cydonia had promptly been burnt. The Turkish admiral was beaten at Samos; for that reason thirty days were spent in Cyprus in cutting off heads. The town of Tripolitza, in the Morea, having been taken by the Palikares, the inhabitants of Cassandra, in Thrace, were given up to bands of Arnauts. The Sultan wished to take new reprisals to terrify the *rayas* [Christian subjects], and to cause the nations of Europe to reflect. He took care not to fix his choice on Crete, where his *nizams* would have been received with gunshots. Chios was an easy prey, and suspected nothing, having always lived on good terms with the Porte, and having even refused to take part in the insurrection of Hellas and the islands. The Chiotes had always been the gentlest, the most docile, the most timid of all the *rayas*. The secret societies which endeavored to rouse the Greek people had not even deigned to initiate these islanders in their projects of national resurrection. On the 8th of May, 1821, the intrepid Tombasis, with fifteen brigs from Hydra and ten schooners from Psara, had appeared before the island, and his patriotic advances having been ill received, he had retired. The inhabitants of Chios, in order to give new guaranties of submission, had sent to the Turks large amounts of money, numerous hostages, and all their arms: even the little knives with which they cut their bread had been taken from them.

“At this moment, on Easter Day, 1822, the Capitan-Pasha anchored in the harbor, with seven ships and eight frigates. Inasmuch as many of the people, frightened by the sight of this fleet, had fled to the mountains, they were made to come down by promises of safety, and by sending to them some consuls, who were simple enough to lend themselves in good faith to this ignoble fraud. The Turkish admiral brought his executioners with him; *bashi-bazouks* from Rumelia, Zeibeks and Yuruks from Asia Minor, the most ferocious and cowardly to be found in the empire. The adventurers had come in great numbers, eager for their prey, attracted by this country, so rich in harvests, in gold coins, and in women. On the day fixed for this surprise all this rabble was crowded into boats, with pistols and knives, and the carnage began. Whole regiments courageously besieged villages containing three hundred souls. For many of them, this slaughter was a great joke, a gigantic *bakshish*. They slashed and burned all day; in the evening they reckoned up the price of the slaves, the sheep, the goats, all huddled together pell-mell in the profaned churches. The children and the women escaped death; their youth and beauty saved them from the massacre, to deliver them over at once to outrageous assaults or to reserve them for the shameful fate of the harem. They were led off in long troops; they were put on the market and sold in the bazaars of Smyrna, Constantinople, and Brussa. Whatever resisted was killed without mercy. At Mesta, a young girl cried and struggled against an Arnaut; the madman seized her loosened hair,

turned back the collar, and with a cut of his sabre severed the pretty head. The person who described this scene to me saw it with his own eyes.”¹

In regard to the massacre of Nestorians in 1850, Layard states that after 9000 had been massacred, “1000 men, women, and children concealed themselves in a mountain fastness. Beder Khan Beg, an officer of rank in the employment of the Sultan, unable to get at them, surrounded the place, and waited until they should be compelled to yield by thirst and hunger. Then he offered to spare their lives on the surrender of their arms and property, terms ratified by an oath on the Koran. The Kurds were then admitted to the platform. After they had disarmed their prisoners they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, until, weary of using their weapons, they hurled the few survivors from the rocks into the river Zab below. Out of nearly 1000 only one escaped.”²

In regard to the massacre of Maronites and Syrians in 1860, the anonymous authority in *The Independent* goes on to say:

“After the massacre of June and July, 1860, in Lebanon and Damascus, under the direction of Tahir Pasha in Deir el Komr, Osman Beg in Has-beiya, Kurshid Pasha in Lebanon, and Ahmed Pasha in Damascus, a conference was held in Paris, August 3d, by the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey. As 11,000

¹ M. Gaston Deschamps: “En Turquie—LI’le de Chio,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 167, January 1, 1893.

² Layard’s *Nineveh*, pp. 24-201.

Christians had been massacred, the European representatives called the attention of the Sultan to his promise in the Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856, 'that serious administrative measures should be taken to ameliorate the condition of the Christian population of every sect in the Ottoman Empire.' . . . And then, in the presence and with the consent of the five aforesaid Christian representatives, assembled together for the express purpose of taking measures to stop the effusion of Christian blood in Syria, caused by the wicked and wilful collusion of the Sultan's authorities, the following insult to the common sense, the feelings, and judgment of Christian Europe was deliberately penned: 'The Plenipotentiary of the Sublime Porte takes note of this declaration of the representatives of the high contracting Powers, and undertakes to transmit it to his court, pointing out *that the Sublime Porte has employed, and continues to employ, her efforts in the sense of the wish expressed above!*' " (Churchill, pp. 220, 221.)

Colonel Churchill further says (p. 222):

"Nejib Pasha, who was installed Governor of the Pashalick of Damascus on the restoration of Syria to the Sultan in 1840, declared to a confidential agent of the British Consul in that city, not knowing, however, the character of the person he was addressing, 'the Turkish Government can only maintain its supremacy in Syria by cutting down the Christian sects.' What Nejib Pasha enounced as a theory, Kurshid Pasha, after an interval of twenty years, succeeded in carrying into practice."

The writer in *The Independent* adds :

" Thus we have Nejib Pasha in 1840, Beder Khan in 1850, Kurshid Pasha in 1860, Chefket Pasha in 1876, and Zekki Pasha in 1894, concurring in this noble and philanthropic scheme for relieving the Turkish Empire of its surplus Christian population ! "

The following facts relate to the terrible atrocities perpetrated in Bulgaria by Turkish *bashi-bazouks* in the spring of 1876. I quote verbatim from the preliminary report ¹ of the Hon. Eugene Schuyler, American Consul-General, to the Hon. Horace Maynard, the American Minister, at Constantinople :

" PHILIPPOLIS, August 10, 1876.

" SIR:—In reference to the atrocities and massacres committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, I have the honor to inform you that I have visited the towns of Adrianople, Philippopolis, and Tatar-Bazardjik, and villages in the surrounding districts. From what I have personally seen, and from the inquiries I have made, and the information I have received, I have ascertained the following facts : . . .

" The insurgent villages made little or no resistance. In many instances they surrendered their arms upon the first demand. Nearly all the villages which were attacked by the *bashi-bazouks* were burned and pillaged, as were also all those which had been abandoned by the terrified inhabitants. The inhabitants of some villages were massacred after exhibitions of the most ferocious cruelty, and the violation not only of women and girls, but even of persons of the other sex. These crimes were

¹ Article by Mr. Savage, *The Independent*, January 10, 1894.

committed by the regular troops as well as by the *bashi-bazouks* [irregulars]. The number of villages which were burned in whole or in part in the districts of Philippopolis, Roptchus, and Tatar-Bazardjik is at least sixty-five.

“Particular attention was given by the troops to the churches and schools, which in some cases were destroyed with petroleum and gunpowder.

“It is difficult to estimate the number of Bulgarians who were killed during the few days that the disturbances lasted; but I am inclined to put 15,000 as the lowest for the districts I have named. . . . This village surrendered, without firing a shot, after a promise of safety, to the *bashi-bazouks*, under command of Ahmed Aga, a chief of the rural police. Despite his promise, the arms once surrendered, Ahmed Aga ordered the destruction of the village and the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, about a hundred young girls being reserved to satisfy the lust of the conqueror before they too should be killed. Not a house is now standing in this lovely valley. Of the 8000 inhabitants not 2000 are known to survive.

“Ahmed Aga, who commanded the massacre, has since been decorated and promoted to the rank of *yuz bashi* [centurian].

“These atrocities were clearly unnecessary for the suppression of the insurrection, for it was an insignificant rebellion at the best, and the villagers generally surrendered at the first summons.

“I am, sir, yours very truly,

“EUGENE SCHUYLER.

“The Hon. HORACE MAYNARD, etc.”

“The British Government had glossed over and tried to cover up these horrible transactions, Premier Disraeli turning them off with a sneer. The facts, as unearthed by Consul Schuyler, shook the British nation like an earthquake, and came near unseating the Ministry. . . .

“A similar investigation was made in the same district by Mr. J. A. MacGahan, the brilliant correspondent of the London *Daily News*, who confirms all that Mr. Schuyler discovered, in a special despatch to the *Daily News*, dated Philippopolis, July 28, 1876.”

The circumstances and character of the Armenian massacre of 1894 are found in the first chapter of the present volume. In regard to this event the writer in *The Independent* of January 17th above quoted asks :

“Will history repeat itself in 1895? Will the remaining Armenians of Sassoun be so terrorized as to refuse to testify before a Commission? Undoubtedly.

“If the facts already known do not force Europe to place Eastern Asia Minor under a Christian Viceroy there is little hope that any new facts will influence them. The dead tell no tales. The living fear to speak, lest they fall victims to the humane theories of Beder Khan and Nejib Pasha.

“Will England now insist upon the protection of the Christian? She is morally bound to. Four times has she saved the Ottoman Empire from destruction, and the civilized world looks to her for a fulfilment of her high mission in the East.

"May British public opinion compel British public men to action!"

To make this chapter a little more complete for reference, I add a passing allusion to three other outrages not included in the above list, which takes account of no massacres of less than ten thousand victims at once.

OUTRAGES IN CRETE IN 1866-7.

On July 21, 1867, the British, Russian, French, and Italian Consuls at Canea, Crete, sent the following identical telegram to their several governments: "Massacres of women and children have broken out in the interior of the island. The authorities can neither put down the insurrection nor stay the course of these atrocities. Humanity would imperatively demand the immediate suspension of hostilities, or the transportation to Greece of the women and children."

The number of relieving ships sent to Crete in obedience to this accord was four French, three Russian, two Italian, three Austrian, and one Prussian.¹

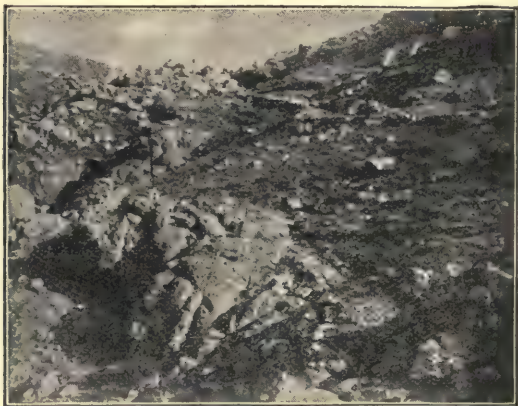
OUTRAGES IN ARMENIA IN 1877.

The writer is C. B. Norman, special correspondent of *The London Times*, who says in his preface:

"In my correspondence to the *Times* I made it a rule to report nothing but what came under my own personal observation, or facts confirmed by European evidence.

¹ U. S. Consul Stillman's *The Cretan Insurrection of 1866-7-8*. Henry Holt & Co., 1874.

“A complete list it is impossible for me to obtain, but from all sides—from Turk and Armenian alike—



A HIGHWAY IN ARMENIA.

I hear piteous tales of the desolation that reigns throughout Kurdistan—villages deserted, towns abandoned, trade at a standstill, harvest ready for the sickle, but none to gather it in, husbands mourning their dishonored wives, parents their murdered children; and this is not the work of a power whose policy of selfish aggression no man can defend, but the ghastly acts of Turkey's irregular soldiery on Turkey's most peaceable inhabitants,—acts the perpetrators of which are well known, and yet are allowed to go unpunished. . . .

“A bare recital of the horrors committed by these demons is sufficient to call for their condign punish-

ment. The subject is too painful to need any coloring, were my feeble pen enabled to give it."

A few, out of many cases reported by Mr. Norman are given :

"This gang also attacked the village of Kordjotz, violating the women, and sending off all the virgins to their hills; entering the church they burned the Bible and sacred pictures; placing the communion-cup on the altar, they in turn defiled it, and divided the church plate amongst themselves. . . .

"Sheik Obaidulah's men rivalled their comrades under the flag of Jelaludeen; these latter operated between Van and Faik Pasha's camp. They attacked and robbed the villages of Shakbabgi and Adnagantz, carrying off all boys and virgins. At Kushartz they did the same, and killing 500 sheep, left them to rot in the streets, and then fired the place. Khosp, Jarashin, and Asdvadsadsan, Boghatz, and Aregh suffered in like manner; the churches were despoiled and desecrated, graves dug up, young of both sexes carried off, what grain they could not transport was destroyed, and the inhabitants driven naked into the fields, to gaze with horror on their burning homesteads."¹

THE MASSACRE OF THE YEZIDIS NEAR MOSUL, 1892.

"The Yezidis are a remnant of a heathen sect, who have never been converted to the Moslem faith.

"Their holy place is not far from the city of Mo-

¹ C. B. Norman, *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, pp. 293-298. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, 1879.

sul, one day's journey, and their principal villages are also close by. In the summer of 1892 the Sultan sent a special officer, called Ferik Pasha, to Mosul to correct certain abuses in the government, to collect all back taxes, and to convert the Yezidis. His authority was absolute, the Vali Pasha of the city being subject to his orders.

"In reference to his work among the Yezidis, he, it was generally reported, was to get a certain sum per capita for every convert made.

"He first sent priests among them to convert them to the "true faith." They not succeeding, he very soon gave them the old alternative of the Koran or the sword. Still not submitting, he sent his soldiers, under command of his son, who put to the sword all who, not able to escape, refused to accept Mohammed. Their villages were burned, many were killed in cold blood, some were tortured, women and young girls were outraged or carried off to harems, and other atrocities, too horrible to relate, were perpetrated.

"Those who escaped made their way to the mountains of Sinjar, where, together with their brethren of the mountains, they intrenched themselves and successfully defended themselves until the spring of 1893 against the government troops which had been sent against them.

"This massacre was reported to the French Government by M. Siouffi, Consul at that time in Mosul, and to the English Government by Mr. Parry, who was in that region under the instructions of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"The Yezidis who remained in their villages on the plain had Moslem priests set over them to instruct them in the Moslem faith. They were compelled to attend prayers and nominally become Mohammedans; but in secret they practised their own rites and declared that they were still Yezidis."¹

After the massacre of the Yezidi peasants in 1892 an English lady of rank, visiting Mosul, was refused permission by the Pasha to travel through the Yezidi district, lest she witness the dreadful results of the massacre.²

The writer in *The Independent* of January 31st, gives this explanation:

"The *reason* of the recurrence of massacres in Turkey is the fanatical intolerance of the Moslem populace and their hatred to Christianity, unrestrained and often fomented by Turkish officials.

"Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the ablest and best friend Turkey ever had, who believed that 'England should befriend Turkey in order to reform her,' says:³

"'Turkey is weak, fanatical, and misgoverned. The Eastern question is a fact, a reality of indefinite duration. Like a volcano it has intervals of rest; but its outbreaks are frequent, their occasions uncertain, and their effects destructive' (p. 6).

"'Did not the massacres in Syria in 1860 come upon us by surprise? . . . Have we any substantial security against the recurrence of similar horrors, of a similar necessity, and of a similar hazard?' (p. 79).

¹ *The Independent*, January 17, 1895.

² *Ibid.*, January 31, 1895.

³ *The Eastern Question.*

“ ‘The position of the Ottoman Empire is one of natural determination toward a state of exhaustive weakness ’ (p. 97).

“ ‘Ill fares the country where neither strong hand nor willing heart is to be found ’ (p. 104).

“ A joint Commission is now *en route* to investigate the Sassoun massacres. Will any good come from it? Doubtful. Lord Stratford says (p. 117):

“ ‘ We know not how soon or where the kites may be again collected by a massacre or insurrection. . . . Such occasional meetings [of Commissions] have their portion of inconvenience and risk. Their failure is discreditable; the effect of their success, at best, transient and partial. The *evils* they are meant to correct are themselves the offspring of one pervading evil, the source of which is in Constantinople.’ ”

CHAPTER VIII.

ISLAM AS A FACTOR OF THE PROBLEM.

IT is with reluctance that I approach this side of the question. It is not desirable that the subject be complicated or embittered by religious animosities. But unfortunately these animosities do exist and have always formed a primary and essential feature in all the relations of the Turks with their Christian subjects. A writer who styles himself "Diplomatist," in a recent review article of considerable merit,¹ with a stroke of the pen, disposes of this phase of the subject by characterizing it as "pure moonshine." But real diplomatists do not find it so easy to dispose of, nor do the great historians treat it as moonshine. The fanatical gleam that I have often caught in the eye of Turks and Kurds was never suggestive to me of the mild rays of the lunar orb, but seemed rather like a gleam from the political Crescent, whose baleful influence dominates the East.

The question is not concerning the merits of Mohammed or of Mohammedanism in the abstract. I have a profound respect for the Prophet of Arabia, who might have been another Apostle Paul, but for the fact that the corrupt church of that day failed

¹ *New Review* for January, 1895.

to give that young and ardent seeker after God a true and worthy conception of Christianity. I would fain admit the high conception of the Mohammedan ideal, portrayed so skilfully by Mr. R. Bosworth Smith in his lectures before the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

But such considerations are irrelevant to the present discussion, which is simply, What are the practical bearings of Islam upon the question of reform or of reconstruction in Turkey?

As has been already shown in Chapter VI., the Ottoman Government is a *politico-religious system*. This is the necessary constitution of any Mohammedan sovereign state, but the conception has special force and vitality in Turkey, whose Sovereign claims to be the successor of Mohammed, and thus the Calif of the Mohammedan world. The whole fabric of the Turkish Empire rests on a religious foundation. This religious foundation is not the general religious principle in man, but the particular form of religion established by Mohammed.

To what *extent*, now, does Islam enter into the political structure? We find on investigation that it is part and parcel of the bone and sinew of the organism in Turkey called the State,—called so by courtesy on account of its faint analogy to what is understood in other countries by that name. The Turkish army is exclusively a Mohammedan army, the national festivals are Mohammedan festivals, the official calendar is a Mohammedan calendar, both as to year and month, the laws are based on the Koran and Mohammedan tradition, the expounders of the

law are Mohammedan judges, and even testimony is a religious act of which only true believers are, in the nature of the case, capable. It is not denied that the testimony of Christians is allowed to be *given* in Turkish courts, but that does not signify that it is *valid* evidence in the eyes of the Court, especially when a Mohammedan is involved. Even the different formulæ used show this. In the case of a Mohammedan it is, "His Lordship, So and So, testified to the face of God"; in the case of a Christian it is, "Mr. Blank stated."

In Article 63 of the Treaty of Berlin we read Turkey's solemn (it is hard to suppress a smile) promise to the European Powers in regard to the rights of Christians before the law: "*All shall be allowed to give evidence before the courts without distinctions of creed.*" The practical application of the above clause is shown in the official reports of British Consuls.¹

Mr. Wilson, Consul-General in Anatolia, writes:

"In the greater portion of Anatolia, though Christian evidence may be received, no weight is attached to it. When Moslem and Christian evidence are opposed to each other, the latter is disregarded. For instance, three Christians are travelling along a road, and one of them is robbed by a man well known to all of them; in the action which ensues, the robber has only to prove an *alibi* by two Moslem false witnesses to gain his case."

¹ These extracts are from *Blue-Book*, Turkey, No. 8 (1881), pp. 57-110, as quoted by the high authority, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, in his *Armenia, the Armenians, and the Treaties*, pp. 74-76. London: John Heywood, 1891

Mr. Chermside, Vice-Consul at Sivas, writes:

"As regards the acceptance of Christian testimony, theoretically is it accepted in all *Nizam* courts. Hearing testimony, however, and attaching the relative importance to it that, from its tenor and consistency, it is entitled to, are very different matters; and there is no doubt that, especially in civil cases, tradition, sympathy, and education prejudice the *Hakim*¹ against it—sentimental considerations, however, are not proof against the love of gain."

According to the latter part of this quotation, the spirit which animates the courts of Asia Minor may be defined as fanaticism tempered by corruption. The following is the opinion of Mr. Everett, Vice-Consul at Erzerum: "The first consideration of the administrators of justice is the amount of money that can be extorted from an individual, and the second is his creed." The only doubt as to the morality of the Turkish magistrates appears to be whether they are more corrupt than fanatical, or more fanatical than corrupt.

The injustice done to Christians even in commercial transactions is shown by Mr. Bilotti, Consul at Trebizond:

"Christian evidence is accepted in the town of Trebizond, but I am assured in the districts, that though the same principle is admitted, no Mussulman has ever been condemned on the testimony of Christians; so much so, that the latter are in the

¹ The *Hakim*, who is a member of the religious body of *Ulemas*, presides over the lower court (*Bidayet*), which is to be found in every *caza* (hundred), and also over the *Sandjak* or district court,

habit of having their bonds witnessed only by Mussulmans."

Much is said in regard to the truthfulness of the Turks. Consul-General Wilson writes: "From the peculiar value of Moslem evidence, most of the false witnesses are Turks."

As a matter of fact, we thus see that the millions of Christians in Turkey neither are nor can be considered and treated as citizens of the state, simply because they do not belong to the religion of the foreign invaders who rule them. No degree of loyalty can secure for non-Moslems admission to the army. Christians are rapidly being excluded from even the humblest positions in the civil lists also, except from such as Mohammedans are incompetent to fill. The status of the Christian before the law is that of an alien in regard to his own rights, and of a slave as far as the interests of Mohammedans are concerned.

And yet we are told that the Ottoman Turks are tolerant of the members of other faiths. This is true in the same sense that the stomach is spoken of as being "tolerant" of certain easily digestible articles of food. Yes, so long as Christians submit to all forms of oppression, and make no claims in regard to rights which are generally supposed to belong to all men, they are gladly tolerated.

That the discrimination against Christian subjects is due to their religious belief, is, further, clearly shown by the fact that Mohammedans, who abandon the creed of the government, immediately forfeit their special privileges, and even incur punishment

as criminals. Apostacy from Islam is treason to the Sultan. Converts to Christianity are arrested and imprisoned. In the rare instances when foreign governments venture to inquire into such cases, the Ottoman authorities blandly insist that they care nothing for the man's religion, but that he must be arrested for "avoiding conscription," or on some other fictitious charge. He is, thereupon, hurried off to some distant military post, or finds a living grave in an unknown dungeon.

Such is the politico-religious organization called the Ottoman Government. Can this union of Church and State be dissolved? It can not be. The bond which unites them, according to Mohammedan doctors, is vital, as in the case of the Siamese twins.

Inasmuch as the bond cannot be cut, the only remaining hope must be in improving the health of the two bodies thus indissolubly united. Unfortunately, no change can be hoped for in the case of either part of this dual patient. *Mohammedanism at its birth was a malformation*, to say the least, and will continue so even though restored to a state of perfect health. In the opinion of every orthodox Mohammedan, the Koran is a "perfect revelation of the will of God, sufficient and final," and "Islam is a separate distinct, and absolutely exclusive religion."

As attempts are frequently made to convey a contrary impression on this point, I quote the words of President George Washburn, of Robert College, Constantinople, an impartial student of Islam, who for thirty-five years has observed its practical work-

ings in the Ottoman Empire. At the World's Parliament of Religions, in Chicago, 1893, he read a paper on "The Points of Contact and Contrast between Christianity and Mohammedanism." His whole treatment is remarkable for its judicial fairness, and his paper is commended to the reader who may desire a brief, comprehensive, and fair estimate of Islam.

To the question whether Mohammedanism has been in any way modified, since the time of the Prophet, by its contact with Christianity, Dr. Washburn thinks that every orthodox Moslem would answer in the negative. He adds: "It is very important to bear in mind that there are nominal Mohammedans who are theists, and others who are pantheists of the Spinoza type. There are also some small sects who are rationalists, but after the fashion of old English Deism rather than of the modern rationalism. The Deistic rationalism is represented in that most interesting work of Justice Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*. He speaks of Mohammed as Xenophon did of Socrates, and he reveres Christ also, but he denies that there was anything supernatural in the inspiration or lives of either, and claims that Hanife and the other Imams corrupted Islam, as he thinks Paul the apostle did Christianity; but this book does not represent Mohammedanism, any more than Renan's *Life of Jesus* represents Christianity. These small rationalistic sects are looked upon by all orthodox Moslems as heretics of the worst description."

Although the Scriptures of the Old and New

Testaments happen to be mentioned one hundred and thirty-one times in the Koran, they are only quoted twice. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of Christ are specifically repudiated in the Koran.

The reform of Islam as a system is, therefore, not within the range of possibility. How about the reform of the Ottoman Government? On this point I yield the floor to the great historian E. A. Freeman, who will close the debate¹:

"There are some people who say the Turks are no doubt very bad, but that the Christians are just as bad, and have done things just as cruel. Now, as a matter of fact, this is not true; and, if it were true, it would be another reason for setting the Christians free; for if they are as bad as the Turk, it is the Turk who has caused their badness. While other nations have been improving, the Turk has kept them from improving. Take away the Turk who hinders improvement, and they will improve like the others. The slave never has the virtues of a free-man; it is only by setting him free that he can get them.

"When we point out the evils of the rule of the Turk, some people tell us that Christian rulers in past times have done things quite as bad as the Turks. This is partly true, but not wholly. No Christian government has ever gone on for so long a time ruling as badly as the Turk has ruled. But it is true that Christian governments have in past times

¹ *The Turks in Europe.*

done particular acts, which were as bad as the acts of the Turks. But this argument, too, cuts the other way ; for Christian governments have left off doing such acts, while the Turks go on doing them still. The worst Christian government is better now than it was one hundred years ago, or five hundred years ago. The rule of the Turk is worse now than it was one hundred years ago, or five hundred years ago. That is to say, the worst Christian government can reform, while the Turk cannot.

“It is sometimes said that we ought not to set free the Christians for fear that they should do some harm to the Mohammedans who would be left in their land. Now, if the question were really put, Shall a minority of oppressors go on oppressing the people of the land, or shall the majority of the people of the land turn round and oppress the minority who have hitherto oppressed them?—this last would surely be the lesser evil of the two. But there is no ground for any such fear. No one wishes to hurt any Mohammedan who will live peaceably and not hurt Christians. No one wishes that any man, merely because he is a Mohammedan, should be in any way worse off than a Christian, or be put under any disability as compared with a Christian. There is no reason why he should be. For the Mohammedan religion, though it does not command that Christians shall be persecuted, does command that Christians shall be treated as subjects of Mohammedans. But the Christian religion in no way commands that Mohammedan shall be treated as the subject of Christian. Christians and Mohammedans cannot

live together on equal terms under a Mohammedan government, because the Mohammedan religion forbids that they should; but Mohammedans and Christians may perfectly well live together under a Christian government. They do so under the governments both of England and of Russia. The few Mohammedans who are left in Greece and in Servia are in no way molested; there are mosques both at Chalkis and at Belgrade. But it is foolish to argue, as some people do, that because men of different religions can live together under a Christian government, therefore they can live together under a Mohammedan government; for both reason and the nature of the Mohammedan religion prove that it is not so. . . .

“The Turk came in as an alien and barbarian encamped on the soil of Europe. At the end of five hundred years, he remains an alien and barbarian encamped on soil which he has no more made his own than it was when he first took Kallipolis. His rule during all that time has been the rule of strangers over enslaved nations in their own land. It has been the rule of cruelty, faithlessness, and brutal lust; it has not been government, but organized brigandage. His rule cannot be reformed. While all other nations get better and better, the Turk gets worse and worse. And when the chief powers of Europe join in demanding that he should make even the smallest reform, he impudently refuses to make any. If there was anything to be said for him before the late Conference, there is nothing to be said for him now. For an evil

which cannot be reformed, there is one remedy only—to get rid of it. Justice, reason, humanity, demand that the rule of the Turk in Europe should be got rid of; and the time for getting rid of it has now come.”



ARMENIAN REBELS WHO WOULD NOT PAY TAXES.

This was written seventeen years ago with reference to the discontinuance of the Ottoman power in Europe. Does it not now apply with equal force to the discontinuance of the same régime in Armenia?

CHAPTER IX.

GLADSTONE ON THE ARMENIAN MASSACRE AND ON TURKISH MISRULE.

ON the eighty-fifth anniversary of Mr. W. E. Gladstone's birth, December 29, 1894, a deputation of members of the National Church of Armenia presented to his son, the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, rector of Hawarden, a silver gilt chalice for the use of the church, in memory of the ex-Premier's sympathy with and assistance to the Armenian people. On that occasion Mr. Gladstone made a long and eloquent speech, in the course of which—after thanking the deputation for their token of sympathy and their grateful references to himself—he said :

“ Well, Mr. Stevenson—I address myself now perhaps more particularly to you and to my own countrymen, to any of them who will take notice of the deputation. I have said that in my opinion this manifestation from the Armenian community in England and in Paris was, on my part at least, quite undeserved. I have done nothing for you in circumstances of great difficulty, and that, let me assure you, has not been owing to indifference. I will explain the cause in very few words. Rumors went abroad, growing more and more authenticated, which repre-

sented a state of horrible and indescribable outrage in Armenia. The impulse of every man in circumstances of that kind is to give way to a burst of strong feeling, but I had the conviction that in a grave case of this kind every nation is best and most properly represented by its government, which is the organ of the nation, and which has the right to speak with the authority of the nation.

“And do not let me be told that one nation has no authority over another. Every nation, and if need be every human being, has authority on behalf of humanity and of justice. (Hear, hear.) These are principles common to mankind, and the violation of which may justly, at the proper time, open the mouths of the very humblest among us. But in such cases as these we must endeavor to do injustice to no one, and the more dreadful the allegations may be, the more strictly it is our duty not to be premature in assuming their truth, but to wait for an examination of the case, and to see that what we say, we say upon a basis of ascertained facts.

“Well, gentlemen, it was, my fate—my fortune, I think—about eighteen years ago to take an active part with regard to other outrages which first came up in the shape of rumor, but were afterwards too horribly verified, in Bulgaria; but I never stirred in regard to those outrages until in the first place, their existence and their character had been established by indisputable authority; and, secondly, until I had found myself driven to absolute despair in regard to any hopes that I could entertain of a proper representation of British feeling

on the part of the government which was then in office. You will see, therefore, that my conduct on this occasion has not been inconsistent with what I then did (hear, hear), and it does not imply, old as I am, that my feelings have been deadened in regard to matters of such a dreadful description. (Cheers.)

“Now I remained silent because I had full confidence that the government of the Queen would do its duty, and I still entertain that confidence. Its power and influence are considerable ; at the same time they are limited. It is not in the power of this country, acting singly, to undertake to represent humanity at large, and to inflict, even upon the grossest wrong-doers, the punishments that their crimes may have deserved ; but there is such a thing as the conscience of mankind at large, and the conscience is not limited even to Christendom. (Hear, hear.) And there is a great power in the collected voice of outraged humanity. What happened in Bulgaria? The Sultan and his government absolutely denied that anything wrong had been done. Yes, but their denial was shattered by the force of facts. The truth was exhibited to the world. It was thought an extravagance at the time when I said: ‘It is time that the Turk and all his belongings should go out of Bulgaria bag and baggage.’ They did go out of Bulgaria, and they went out of a good deal besides. But, quite independent of any sentiment of right, justice, or humanity, common sense and common prudence ought to have taught them not to repeat the infernal acts which disgraced the year 1876, so far as Turkey was concerned. (Cheers.)

“Now, it is certainly true that we have not arrived at the close of this inquiry, and I will say nothing to assume that the allegations will be verified. At the same time I cannot pretend to say that there is no reason to anticipate an unfavorable issue. On the contrary, the intelligence which has reached me tends to a conclusion which I still hope may not be verified, but tends strongly to a conclusion to the general effect that the outrages and the scenes and abominations of 1876 in Bulgaria have been repeated in 1894 in Armenia. As I have said, I hope it is not so, and I will hope to the last, but if it is so it is time that one general shout of execration, not of men, but of deeds, one general shout of execration directed against deeds of wickedness, should rise from outraged humanity, and should force itself into the ears of the Sultan of Turkey and make him sensible, if anything can make him sensible, of the madness of such a course.

“The history of Turkey has been a sad and painful history. That race has not been without remarkable and even in some cases fine qualities, but from too many points of view it has been a scourge to the world, made use of, no doubt, by a wise Providence for the sins of the world. If these tales of murder, violation, and outrage be true, then it will follow that they cannot be overlooked, and they cannot be made light of. I have lived to see the Empire of Turkey in Europe reduced to less than one half of what it was when I was born, and why? Simply because of its misdeeds—a great record written by the hand of Almighty God, in whom the



DERVISH BEGGARS



DERVISHES OF CONSTANTINOPLE CHANTING.

Turk, as a Mohammedan, believes, and believes firmly—written by the hand of Almighty God against injustice, against lust, against the most abominable cruelty; and if—and I hope, and I feel sure, that the government of the Queen will do everything that can be done to pierce to the bottom of this mystery, and to make the facts known to the world—if, happily—I speak hoping against hope—if the reports we have read are to be disproved or to be mitigated, then let us thank God; but if, on the other hand, they be established, then I say it will more than ever stand before the world that there is no lesson, however severe, that can teach certain people the duty, the prudence, the necessity of observing in some degree the laws of decency, and of humanity, and of justice, and that if allegations such as these are established, it will stand as if it were written with letters of iron on the records of the world, that such a government as that which can countenance and cover the perpetration of such outrages is a disgrace in the first place to Mahomet, the Prophet whom it professes to follow, that it is a disgrace to civilization at large, and that it is a curse to mankind. (Cheers.) Now, that is strong language.

“Strong language ought to be used when facts are strong, and ought not to be used without strength of facts. I have counselled you still to retain and to keep your judgment in suspense, but as the evidence grows and the case darkens, my hopes dwindle and decline; and as long as I have a voice I hope that voice, upon occasions, will be uttered on behalf of humanity and truth.” (Cheers.)¹

¹ *The London Times*, Weekly Edition Jan. 14, 1895.

In a remarkable paper entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* called forth by the atrocities in 1876, Mr. Gladstone sums up some of the qualities of the Turkish race and of Turkish rule as follows:¹

“Let me endeavor very briefly to sketch, in the rudest outline, what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mohammedanism simply, but of Mohammedanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mohammedans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force as opposed to government by law. For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism; for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise.

“They were, indeed, a tremendous incarnation of military power. This advancing curse menaced the whole of Europe. It was only stayed—and that not in one generation, but in many—by the heroism of the European population of those very countries part of which form at this moment the scene of war, and the anxious subject of diplomatic action. In the olden time all Western Christendom sympathized with the resistance to the common enemy; and even during the hot and fierce struggles of the Reforma-

¹ Reprinted from *The Christian Register*, Boston, Dec. 1, 1894.



FIREMEN AND FIRE-ENGINE -- CONSTANTINOPLE

tion there were prayers, if I mistake not, offered up in the English churches for the success of the emperor—the head of the Roman Catholic power and influence—in his struggles with the Turk.

“ But, although the Turk represented force as opposed to law, yet not even a government of force can be maintained without the aid of an intellectual element such as he did not possess. Hence there grew up what has been rare in the history of the world, a kind of tolerance in the midst of cruelty, tyranny, and rapine. Much of Christian life was contemptuously let alone, much of the subordinate functions of government was allowed to devolve upon the bishops; and a race of Greeks was attracted to Constantinople which has all along made up, in some degree, the deficiencies of Turkish Islam in the element of mind, and which at this moment provides the Porte with its long-known and, I must add, highly esteemed ambassador in London. Then there have been, from time to time, but rarely, statesmen whom we have been too ready to mistake for specimens of what Turkey might become, whereas they were, in truth, more like *lusus naturæ*, on the favorable side,—monsters, so to speak, of virtue or intelligence. And there were (and are) also, scattered through the community, men who were not, indeed, real citizens, but yet who have exhibited the true civic virtues, and who would have been citizens, had there been a true polity around them. Besides all this, the conduct of the race has gradually been brought more under the eye of Europe, which it has lost its power to resist or to defy; and its

central government, in conforming perforce to many of the forms and traditions of civilization, has occasionally caught something of their spirit. . . .

“I entreat my countrymen, upon whom far more than perhaps any other people of Europe it depends, to require and to insist that our government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigor to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas,—one and all, bag and baggage,—shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden, and of child; to the civilization which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God, or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large. There is not a criminal in a European jail, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not arise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done; which has too late been examined, but which remains unavenged; which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions that produced it; and which may again spring up, in another murderous harvest, from the soil soaked and reeking with blood, and in the

air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame. *That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them, that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole.*¹ Better, we may justly tell the Sultan, almost any inconvenience, difficulty, or loss associated with Bulgaria,

‘Than thou reseated in thy place of light,
The mockery of thy people and their bane.’

“We may ransack the annals of the world ; but I know not what research can furnish us with so portentous an example of the fiendish misuse of the powers established by God ‘for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the encouragement of them that do well.’ No government ever has so sinned ; none has so proved itself incorrigible in sin, or, which is the same, so impotent for reformation. If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew, at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginnings of political society, a protest that man has lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforth forward to be branded as a crime.”

¹ And yet England by the Cyprus Convention pledged all her resources to *keep the door open*, and the repetition thus made possible has occurred. Author,

CHAPTER X.

WHO ARE THE ARMENIANS?

THAT a field so rich in possibilities for the student of history, ethnology, or language as Armenia and Kurdistan should have remained as yet so little explored, is due, no doubt, to three causes¹: first, the apparent loss of significance of the Armenian nation, which now, like Poland, seems but a stranded wreck in the stream of history; second, to her geographical isolation and the danger and hardship of travel in that region²; third, to the linguistic obstacles to be overcome.

So little clear and accurate information about the Armenians is readily accessible that the following brief outline is offered in the hope of meeting this want at the present time.

HISTORY.—The Armenian race belongs to the

¹ "Kurdistan abounds in antiquities of the most varied and interesting character. . . . It may indeed be asserted that there is no region of the East at the present day which deserves a more careful scrutiny and promises a richer harvest to the antiquarian explorer than the lands inhabited by the Kurds from Erzeroum to Kirman-shahan."—Major-General H. C. Rawlinson, *Encyc. Britannica*, article on "Kurdistan."

² Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*. 2 vols. New York: Putnam's, 1891. London: John Murray.

Japhetic branch of the human family, falling under the same category as the inhabitants of India and Persia, who form the Aryans of Asia. The Armenian language proves this by its affinity with the Indo-Germanic tongues. Their physiognomy and physical constitution connect them with the best types of Caucasian stock. Their manners and customs, as well as their religious beliefs, in heathenism, were similar to those of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, of the Medes and Persians, and, still later, of the Parthians.

These people call themselves Haik, after Haig, the most celebrated of their ancient kings, and their land Haiasdan. Their national legends, fortified in their eyes by the Bible, make Haig descend from Ashkenaz or Togarmah, children of Gomer, a patriarch of the line of Japhet.¹ Foreigners applied to them the name Armenians, derived from King Aram, said to be a descendant of Haig, who made great conquests.²

The earliest biblical mention of this land is the statement that the ark "rested upon the mountains of Ararat," a term which evidently refers to a district rather than a peak.³ Another scriptural allusion is in connection with Sennacherib, whose parricidal sons are said to have escaped, 681 B. C., "into the land of Armenia."⁴ Ezekiel also refers to Armenia under the name Togarmah, as furnishing Tyre with

¹ Gen. x., 2, 3.

² Moses of Khorene, *History*, Bk. i., chap. 12.

³ Gen. viii., 4.

⁴ Heb. Ararat, 2 Kings xix., 37; Isa. xxxvii., 38.

horses and mules, a product for which it is still noted.¹ Tigranes I. is said to have been an ally of Cyrus the Great in overthrowing the Babylonians, and thus in liberating the Jews after their seventy years' captivity, 538 B. C. A foreshadowing of this event is probably found in the prophet Jeremiah: "Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, . . . to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant."²

In the famous inscriptions of the Achemenidæ, at Persepolis and at Behistun, the name Armenia is found in various forms, and the Armenian tributaries march after the Cappadocians to render homage to the great king.³

Herodotus mentions the absorption of the Armenian Empire in that of Darius, 514 B. C., and a tribute of four hundred talents exacted.⁴

Xenophon's account of the retreat of the ten thousand through this mountainous region, in mid-winter, and constantly harassed by enemies, is valuable, not only as a tribute to the splendid discipline and spirit of the Greeks, but for the light which it throws upon the ancient Armenians and Kurds, whose houses, domestic habits, and employments are the same in many respects even at the present day.⁵

Armenia was included in the conquests of Alexander, and afterwards submitted to the Seleucidæ of

¹ Ezek. xxvii., 14; also xxxviii., 6.

² Jer. li., 27-29; also l., 9, 41, 42.

³ Christian Lassen, *Die altpersischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis*, Bonn, 1836, pp. 86, 87.

⁴ *History*, Bk. iii., chap. 93.

⁵ *Anabasis*, Bk. iv.

Syria. In 190 B. C., when Antiochus the Great was defeated by Scipio, Armenia revolted under Artaxias, who gave refuge to the exiled Hannibal. About 150 B. C., the great Parthian king, Mithridates I., established his brother Valarsaces in Armenia. The most celebrated king of this branch of the Arsacid family was Tigranes II., who, while aiding Mithridates of Pontus, was defeated by Pompey. After this, Tacitus says that the Armenians were almost always at war; with the Romans through hatred, and with the Parthians through jealousy.¹ Princes of this line continued to rule, however, until the Arsacidæ were driven from the Persian throne by the Sassanid Ardashir. Though frequently conquered by the kings of that dynasty, Armenia was enabled as often to re-assert her freedom by the help of Roman arms.

When Tiridates embraced Christianity, 276 A. D., the struggle became embittered by the introduction of a religious element, for the Persians were bigoted Zoroastrians. This condition reached a climax when the country was divided between the Romans and Persians, under Theodosius the Great, 390 A. D.

After the fall of the Sassanidæ, in the seventh century, Armenia was divided between the Greek Empire and the Saracens; but from 859 to 1045 it was again ruled by a native dynasty of vigorous princes, the Pagratidæ. This was brought to a close by the suspicious and short-sighted policy of the Byzantine emperors, one of whom, Constantine IX., at last overthrew the Armenian kingdom, thereby laying

¹ *Annales*, Bk. ii., ch. 56.



AN ARMENIAN TOMBSTONE OF A.D. 934.
Evidence of a high state of art,

open the whole eastern frontier to the invasion of the Seljouk Turks, who shortly before had begun their attacks, and who might have been successfully resisted by these hardy mountaineers. The result was fatal, both to Armenia, which was overrun, and to the Greek Empire; for by the battle of Manzikert, 1071 A. D., when Romanus IV. was defeated and made prisoner by Alp Arslan, the whole of Asia Minor was left at the mercy of the Seljouks.¹

Rupen, a relative of the last Pagratid sovereign, escaped into Cilicia, and established the Rupenian dynasty, which was not extinguished until the death of Leon VI., 1393, an exile in Paris, and the last of the Armenian kings. The Rupenians had entered into alliance with the Crusaders. They welcomed the Mongolian hordes under Genghis Khan, early in the thirteenth century, and suffered the vengeance of the Mamelukes, 1375.

A graphic account of the cruelties of Timour the Tartar, who devastated Armenia at the close of the fourteenth century, has been left us by Thomas of Medzop. The last great calamity which fell upon the mother country happened in 1605, when Shah Abbas forcibly transplanted twelve thousand families to Ispahan in Persia.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.—It is the oldest of all national churches. Their legends claim that our Lord corresponded with King Abgarus of Edessa or Ur, and that the apostles Thaddæus and Bartholomew preached the Gospel to them. But the historical founder of the Armenian church was St. Gregory

¹ Tozer, *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, pp. 22, 86.

"The Illuminator,"¹ an Arsacid prince, related to King Tiridates (Dertad), who was consecrated Bishop of Armenia, at Cæsarea, in 302 A. D. The Armenian church is Episcopal in polity, and closely resembles the Greek in outward forms.

Misled by imperfect reports of the Council of Chalcedon, 451, which they were not able to attend on account of Persian persecutions, the Armenian bishops annulled its decrees in 536, thus gaining the credit of being Eutychians, which led to their gradual separation from the orthodox church, much to the satisfaction of the Persian ruler Chosroes. This estrangement was doubtless political as much as doctrinal, on account of the attempts at ecclesiastical supremacy by the churches of Constantinople and Rome. As far as her ecclesiastical writers are concerned, and her beautiful liturgy, the Armenian church is in general orthodox. Her heresy, in common with that of the rest of Christendom, is one of life rather than of doctrine. A chism in the Armenian church was brought about in the sixteenth century by Jesuit missionaries, who succeeded in detaching the community of Catholic Armenians from the mother church, of which the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin is recognized as the supreme head.

All Armenians—except perhaps the Catholic, whose allegiance has been transferred of course to Rome—still cherish a passionate attachment for the venerable church of their ancestors, to which they owe their identity as a people after the terrible vicis-

¹ Krikor "*Loosavoritch*," from which title the Armenian Gregorian church calls itself *Loosavortchagan*.

situdes of so many centuries. It is true that Armenians who have come under European influence, especially French, have to some extent become sceptical and indifferent to religion. But even such men still profess at least an outward loyalty, as a matter of sentiment, and because they believe the formal preservation of the Armenian church to be the condition of national union in the future as it has been in the past. It is, indeed, almost a political necessity, as the Ottoman Empire is now constituted.

It is to be hoped that the time will come when the children of the Armenian church of every shade will no longer look upon her as a mother frail and failing, yet to be treated with respect while she lasts; nor as a mother ignorant and bigoted beyond hope of reform; still less, as one heretical and to be abandoned for Rome. Rather, let all her sons rally around her and help her to fulfil her true spiritual mission. She will then renew her youth and again take her honored place in the front ranks of "the Church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of the truth."

Would that the spirit of the grand and broad-minded man who is now the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin, His Holiness, Mugerditch Khrimian, might pervade the whole body of which he is the honored and beloved head. Less than a year ago, the author had the privilege of a long private interview with this venerable ecclesiastic, whose hand he kissed in oriental fashion, with respect for the man and for himself. His last words to me, found upon the title-page, were "*Husahadelu chenk*," meaning, "We must not despair"—a good motto for us all.

That the grand old church of "The Illuminator" should somewhat lose its hold on the mind and conscience of the rising generation at this stage of super-



THE CATHOLICOS OF ETCHMIADZIN, IN THE CAUCASUS.
Religious head of the Armenian Church.

ficial enlightenment is not strange. Her real merits are concealed, unfortunately, under a growth of superstition and ignorance which even the clergy admit,

but lack the courage and ability to remove. These abuses, however, are not due to any demoralization of the Armenian race itself, but to its isolation, and to the repeated and terrible devastations that have checked its growth and reduced it to a condition of extreme poverty and helplessness.

No greater service could be rendered to the Armenian people than aid and encouragement in establishing institutions for the education of the clergy, who under present circumstances are their natural leaders. The twentieth century will bring, we hope, better political privileges. But unless, in the meantime, the ancient church has maintained her hold on the conscience of the rising generation, she is in danger of sinking into the position of the church in France.

By nature the Armenians are deeply religious, as their whole literature and history show. It has been a religion of the heart, not of the head. Its evidence is not to be found in metaphysical discussions and hair-splitting theology as in the case of the Greeks, but in a brave and simple record written with the tears of saints and illuminated with the blood of martyrs.

The seeds of a thorough and far-reaching reformation have been carefully sown and are already bearing fruit. The prospect of reform is brightened by three facts: first, the Armenian church is essentially democratic, and is not in bondage to any "infallible" human authority; second, her errors of doctrine and practice are not fundamental, and, having never been sanctioned by councils, but simply by custom and

tradition, can in due time be discarded ; third, she has always acknowledged the supreme authority of



THE SUBORDINATE CATHOLICOS OF AGHTAMAR, A TOOL OF
THE TURKS.

Wearing the Sultan's highest decorations for services rendered.

the Bible, which is no longer a sealed book, having been translated into the modern tongue by American missionaries, very widely scattered, and at last gladly

received by all classes. The demand for progress and reform is by no means confined to the so-called "evangelical" element, but is making itself heard even in the pulpits of the old church and in the secular press.

The Armenians, very numerous in ancient times, now number only about 4,000,000, of whom 2,500,000 are under the Sultan, 1,200,000 in Russia, 150,000 in Persia, and the rest widely scattered in many lands, but everywhere distinguished for their peaceable and enterprising character. They are the leading bankers, merchants, and skilled artisans of Turkey, and extensively engage in the various trades, manufactures, and agriculture as well. They love their native home and are yet destined to play an important part in the moral and material regeneration of western Asia.

The following estimate is from an experienced and discriminating authority, who is also a member of the Church of England :

"I have confessed already to a prejudice against the Armenians, but it is not possible to deny that they are the most capable, energetic, enterprising, and pushing race in Western Asia, physically superior, and intellectually acute, and *above all they are a race which can be raised in all respects to our own level, neither religion, color, customs, nor inferiority in intellect or force constituting any barrier between us.* Their shrewdness and aptitude for business are remarkable, and whatever exists of commercial enterprise in Eastern Asia Minor is almost altogether in their hands. They have singular elasticity, as their survival as a church and nation shows, and I

cannot but think it likely that they may have some share in determining the course of events in the East, both politically and religiously. As Orientals they understand Oriental character and modes of thought as we never can, and if a new Pentecostal *afflatus* were to fall upon the educated and intelligent young men who are being trained in the colleges which the American churches have scattered liberally through Asia Minor, the effect upon Turkey would be marvellous. I think most decidedly that reform in Turkey must come through Christianity, and in this view the reform and enlightenment of the religion which has such a task before it are of momentous importance.”¹

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.—The Armenian grammar is analogous to that of other languages of the same origin. It has not the distinction of gender, but is rich in its declensions and conjugations. The accent of Armenian words is on the last syllable, and many of the strong consonantal sounds strike the ear of a foreigner with harshness, and defy his tongue. The rich native vocabulary has been increased by additions from languages with which it has come in contact. It possesses also, as the German, great facility in building compound words.

The earliest specimen of this language, though in the cuneiform character, is probably to be found in the tri-lingual inscriptions on the great citadel rock of Van, which have not yet been satisfactorily made out. The pre-Christian literature of Armenia, consisting of national songs, has entirely perished, ex-

¹ Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, vol. ii., p. 336.

cept a few quotations. All that has come down to us is subsequent to the fourth century, and refers exclusively to history or religion. Poetry and fiction never greatly flourished among this serious race, always in the midst of danger or suffering.

The ancient Armenian version of the Bible, made by Mesrob, the inventor of their alphabet, and his disciples, early in the fifth century, has been called the queen of versions for its beauty, and, though not based on the Hebrew, is of some critical value in determining the readings of the Septuagint, of which it does not follow any known recension. Hundreds of other translations from Syriac and Greek writers soon followed, some of which are extant only in Armenian.

The fifth century, their Golden Age, was adorned by such classic writers as Yeznig of Goghpa, who wrote most eloquently, in four books, against the Persian fire-worshippers, the Greek philosophers, the Marcion heresy, and the Manichæans; Goriun, the biographer of Mesrob; David, the philosopher and translator of Aristotle; Yeghishe, who relates the heroic struggle of Vartan for the Christian faith against the Persian Zoroastrians; Lazarus of Parb; and Moses of Khorene, their national historian. There follows a period of four centuries of literary barrenness, due to political disorder and schism.

Under the Rupenian dynasty there was a second period of literary brilliancy. Then flourished Nerses Schnorhali "The Gracious," an orator grafted upon the poet; as well as Nerses of Lampron, whose hymns also enrich the beautiful Armenian liturgy. The

annals of Matthew of Edessa give interesting facts about the first Crusade. Samuel of Ani, John



THE ISLAND MONASTERY OF AGHTAMAR, IN LAKE VAN.

One of many similar Armenian Monasteries still existing, rich in parchment manuscripts exposed to decay and vandalism.

Vanagan, Vartan the Great, and Thomas of Medzop wrote succeeding chronicles.

A third revival of Armenian letters was begun by
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Mechitar of Sebaste (Sivas), who established an order of Catholic monks at the monastery of St. Lazarus in Venice, 1717. These fathers have won the interest and admiration of European scholars by their publication of Armenian classics, together with many learned original contributions. Other centres of literary activity are to be found in Vienna, Paris, and the Institute of Moscow, as well as the schools of Constantinople and Tiflis.

A list of authorities on Armenian subjects is given in Appendix E.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICANS IN TURKEY, THEIR WORK AND INFLUENCE.

THE American missionaries in the Turkish Empire are brought into the discussion of almost every question that arises in that land. Especially is this true at present, in connection with the Armenian problem. So many wild and contradictory statements are made in regard to them, and the Protestant communities which are the direct results of their labors, that the mind of the public is more or less confused on the subject. The missionaries, and the many thousands who have gladly followed their leadership in intellectual, moral, and religious reform, *are* an important, though not a noisy or conspicuous element. For this reason, as well as on account of popular ignorance and hostile misrepresentation, they cannot be overlooked in any fair and adequate survey of the situation. The writer has long been familiar with this phase of the subject, and has a large mass of evidence and statistics at his command. *But he is not connected with any of the various missionary societies involved, and is alone responsible for the statements made in this or any other part of the volume.*

It is very important to note that charges against the missionaries, of disloyalty to the Sultan, have never been sustained for a moment, and that investigation has shown them to be obedient to the laws, and opposed to revolutionary sentiments upon the part of any of the subjects of the Empire. The highest officials have repeatedly borne public testimony to the valuable services of the Americans in educational, literary, medical and philanthropic lines. Even H. I. M. Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid has graciously given expression to his confidence in Americans as being free from any political designs, such as all Europeans are supposed to entertain.

Many are not aware of the great work already accomplished by American missionaries during the past seventy years in the Ottoman Empire, nor of the vast influence they have exerted, both directly and indirectly. They have been in many departments the pioneers of civilization. They have stuck to their posts, obscure or prominent, in peace or in war, in famine, plague and persecution. Pashas and diplomats and generals have sought their aid without fear of being misled or betrayed. But the messengers of the Cross have never been swerved from what they consider a "higher calling"—to instruct the ignorant, young and old, to counsel and reclaim the erring, to attend the sick and imprisoned, and to comfort the broken-hearted. To support these general statements, the reader must pardon a few statistics compiled from the latest official tables, showing the *direct results* of American missionary effort in Turkey.

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN MISSIONS IN TURKEY.¹

The following figures, with the exception of the Press statistics, represent the work of the American Board (Congregational) and of the Presbyterian Board taken together.

The Congregational proportion constitutes about three fourths and the Presbyterian one fourth in all these figures, the work of the latter society being confined to Syria and Mosul.

THE FORCE.

Laborers.

Foreign missionaries	223
Native pastors, preachers, teachers, etc.	1,094
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Total force of laborers	1,317
American missionaries to Turkey since 1821	550

¹ By far the largest part of foreign missionary work in Turkey has always been in the hands of Americans, although, of course, they neither claim nor have any monopoly in this respect. As a matter of fact there are many other large and successful missionary, benevolent, and educational enterprises conducted in that land by other foreign societies as well as individuals. The various Roman Catholic orders are strongly established in many parts, and are generally of French connections and introduce that language in their work as the Americans do English. The following is a partial list of other societies at work in Turkey: The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Lands Missions Aid Society, the British Syrian Mission Schools and Bible Work, the Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews, the Society of Friends (both English and American), the Irish Presbyterian Mission, the Reformed Presbyterian Mission, and the German Deaconesses. In addition to all these agencies, there are many private and local schools and institutions that are doing excellent work, but of which only this general mention can here be made.

The statistics of Robert College, Constantinople, are not included in these tables, as that institution, though a child of American Missions, is independent of them.

Plant.

Value of property held by Americans, exclusive of churches, schools, etc., erected in the names of native subjects, with foreign aid, for which statistics are not available \$2,500,000

Annual Expenditure.

Appropriations from America	\$225,000
From native sources	60,000
	<hr/>
Total expenditure annually	\$285,000
Total American expenditure from the first, at least	\$10,000,000

THE RESULTS.

Religious.

Churches organized	155
Other stated preaching places	281
	<hr/>
Total number of preaching places	436
Communicants (received on confession of faith)	13,528
Members of Protestant civil communities (adherents)	60,000
Average Sunday congregations	40,000
Sunday-school membership	35,000

Educational.

Colleges well equipped, for	} students	4,085
both sexes 5		
Theological seminaries 6		
High-schools for boys } 80		
Boarding-schools for girls }		
Common schools for both sexes 530	"	23,315
		<hr/>
Total schools of all grades . 621	Students	27,400

There are six American institutions in Turkey incorporated under the laws of the United States, and controlled by trustees in that land.

Medical.

There is a well equipped American Medical College and Hospital at Beirut, and American mission-

ary physicians treat, yearly, many thousands of patients of all classes and races throughout the land, both in their dispensaries and in private practice, at a nominal sum and very often gratuitously.

Publishing.

Both weekly and monthly newspapers are published by the American missionaries at Constantinople, in the Armenian, Turkish, Greek, and Bulgarian languages, and an Arabic weekly is published at Beirut.

The catalogue of editions of the Scriptures and of religious, educational, and miscellaneous books and tracts in various languages, which may be obtained at the American Bible House, Constantinople, contains separate titles to the number of about 1000. The publications in the catalogue of the Presbyterian Press at Beirut, mostly in Arabic, number 507. The number of copies of the Scriptures (entire or in part) put in circulation by the Levant Agency of the American Bible Society alone, 1847 to 1893, is 1,378,715. The number of copies of the Scriptures (entire or in part) *in languages and type available for Mohammedans*, put in circulation by the same Agency in 1893, was Osmanli-Turkish (Arabic type), 5,392; Arabic language (Arabic type), 34,077; total, 39,469.

The number of copies of Scriptures (entire or in part) circulated in Turkey since 1820 amounts to about 3,000,000. The number of copies of other books and tracts for the same period is about 4,000,000. The total number of copies of the Scriptures and of miscellaneous literature circulated is therefore about 7,000,000.

Even these large figures by no means measure the extent and significance of Protestant influence in Turkey. The idea and spirit of Protestantism has a breadth which cannot be measured or portrayed by figures. As a matter of convenience and political



ARMENIAN FAMILY, BITLIS.

necessity, and also to destroy unity of feeling and action among the subject peoples, all non-Moslem races were classified by Mohammed II., after the capture of Constantinople in 1453, according to their religious belief. These lines of division have always

been strictly observed by the government in all its dealings with non-Moslems. Even many of the taxes are collected through ecclesiastical organizations. This policy of the government, together with the bitter persecution of Protestants by the older churches, led to the formation of a Protestant civil community in 1850, contrary to the original desire and instruction of the missionaries, and in spite of the protests of many evangelicals who preferred to retain connection with their ancestral church, but who were thrust out with violence and anathema.

The Protestant communities which then sprang up all over the Empire, were not ruled, as are the other Oriental churches, by hierarchical bodies. The missionaries, who are mostly Congregational or Presbyterian, while ready to advise and guide, have never exercised ecclesiastical control over their converts. The Protestants, in accordance with their inherent spirit and beliefs, have naturally organized their religious and civil communities on a simple representative basis, which has gradually developed independence of thought and character, and desire for progress.

We come now to the *indirect results* of missionary effort, namely, the stimulus of evangelical example and success upon the Gregorian and other communities including even the Mohammedans. The homes, schools, and churches of the missionaries have been open to all comers; their varied literature has gone everywhere; their aid in sickness, distress, and famine has always ignored race or creed. Many thousands of Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Jacob-

ites and others — Moslems being prevented by their rulers except in rare instances—have received education in Protestant schools, without changing their church relations. But, nevertheless, a deep impression has been made on these pupils by contact no less than by teaching, and this, together with a natural and worthy loyalty to their own institutions, has stirred up all the other races to higher ideals and efforts.¹

The existence of a marked desire for progress by all classes is now clear, and that this is largely due to foreign missionaries is admitted by all²—gratefully by the Armenians and Christians generally, but often with chagrin by the Turks, who find themselves

¹ “ The creation of churches, strict in their discipline, and protesting against the mass of superstitions which smother all spiritual life in the National Armenian Church, is undoubtedly having a very salutary effect far beyond the limited membership, and is tending to force reform upon an ancient church which contains within herself the elements of resurrection.”—Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, vol. ii., p. 336.

² Unhappily there are some who can see nothing but bigotry and mistakes in what the missionaries have done. Such characters are to be found among all races, as the following extract shows :

“ It might be thought that here, [Missolonghi] on the spot where he [Byron] breathed his last, malignity would have held her accursed tongue ; but it was not so. He had committed the fault, unpardonable in the eyes of political opponents, of attaching himself to one of the great parties that then divided Greece ; and though he had given her all that man could give, in his own dying words, ‘ his time, his means, his health, and, lastly, his life,’ the Greeks spoke of him with all the rancour and bitterness of party spirit. Even death had not won oblivion for his political offences ; and I heard those who saw him die in her cause affirm that Byron was no friend to Greece.”—Stephens, *Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland*, New York : Harper and Brothers, 1839.

being rapidly left behind in the forward march which they have been too stupid or too proud to fall in with. It is, however, very gratifying to see that the Mohammedan leaders in both Church and State are at length becoming aware of the marked intellectual awakening and substantial progress that education has quietly brought about among the Christian races. Robert College on the Bosphorus stands at the head of the many well equipped American institutions in Turkey which have largely contributed to these results.

We gladly recognize the wisdom and energy of His Majesty the present Sultan, in trying to establish Moslem schools throughout his empire, some of which are already quite large, creditable, and popular with the Turks. It cannot be doubted that these schools will lead ultimately to an awakening and a desire for reform and progress among Moslems which will make them no less restive under present conditions than are the non-Moslems to-day, and thus hasten the necessary reforms. While most hearty praise is due His Majesty for fostering and even forcing education among his Moslem subjects, it is greatly to be regretted that there is another side to this policy as carried out by his agents, namely, an equal zeal in curtailing and even closing, as far as possible, Christian schools.

The hostility of the Sublime Porte has been growing, just in proportion as the excellent results of American institutions, already enumerated, have appeared. Does the Turkish Government desire that its hostility be considered the most convincing

proof of the success of disinterested efforts to benefit its subjects of all classes? And does it propose to continue to cripple and suppress such efforts? If so, it is not the two hundred and fifty American missionaries in her borders who will suffer, but the many schools and churches which they have planted and the many thousands of peaceable and hitherto loyal subjects, who have been taught in them to serve God as well as honor the king.

CHAPTER XII.

ARMENIAN VILLAGE LIFE.

THE following description will show to what condition the villagers of Armenia had been reduced by their oppressors. And yet it was *such* people who had to be further impoverished and massacred, lest by their indomitable hopefulness and industry, and by the operation of reforms guaranteed by Europe, they might rise to equality with their Mohammedan neighbors. Of course the customs and style of living of the Armenians in the cities and in some villages, were on a far higher plane, but they too have now been utterly prostrated.

It is very easy to miss the villages as one travels through the country ; their location is indicated by a few trees and cultivated fields rather than by conspicuous buildings. The houses themselves are invariably low and contiguous, and of the color of the mud and stones of which they are made. Where the houses are on a hillside they run back into the ground, so that they present only a front elevation, the solid earth forming the sides and rear wall. In the region of Bitlis the earthen roofs of the houses, instead of being flat, are rounded, and thus the village at a distance looks like a collection of gigantic

ant-hills, from the centre of which, however, there towers a church, symbolic of the great and prominent part which religion plays in the humble lives of the people. The churches and monasteries are often very ancient structures of hewn stone, in some cases richly carved with inscriptions and reliefs, and surmounted with a low round conical tower. The difference between these fine old structures and the modern hovels which surround them forcibly suggests to the beholder the former prosperity of this ancient people when independent, in contrast with the poverty and degradation to which they have been reduced by their Ottoman masters. In some places the remains of fine stone bridges are to be seen, where now the traveller is compelled to ford the stream, at the risk of losing his baggage and perhaps his life.

The family is conducted on strictly patriarchal lines. As the sons grow up and are married they bring their brides to the father's house instead of starting new homes of their own. For this large establishment, which includes all, from grandparents to grandchildren, the word "family" or "house" is used. With this explanation it does not seem so strange to hear of families of twenty or even fifty souls. These large families are the units which compose the village. The members of each family have everything in common, property, living rooms, household cares and pleasures included.

The freedom of the family home belongs not simply to every human member of it, but is also generously conferred upon the numerous animals on which

the family depends. As day declines, cows, buffaloes, horses, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, and chickens all turn their steps to the common entrance, where each knows his place and is duly cared for. There is little distinction between drawing-room, kitchen, chamber, and stable; they all form parts of one semi-subterranean cavern, which is divided by posts, railings, and walls, forming a veritable labyrinth to the stranger, though every turn is familiar to the regular occupants. The people gladly welcome the European traveller, as an angel from the outside world, who can take back their story, and who, they know, will pay for all he receives, instead of extorting it as do the Kurds and Turkish *zaptiehs*, or police.

On reaching the village where one is to spend the night, he naturally desires at once to see his quarters. After the saddle is removed that it may not be injured in going through the low passages, both horse and traveller are led in by the light of a flickering wick in a cup of linseed-oil, which barely suffices to reveal the sooty walls and posts. The guide warns you not to strike your head on that beam, or to step into the puddle on your left; in avoiding the puddle you stumble over something on the right, but your host immediately puts you at your ease by saying it was only a calf. He then proceeds to remove a yoke of buffaloes or half a dozen sheep from one obscure corner, and informs you that it is at your disposal. The poor creatures linger so near that you can hear them breathe and catch the reproachful expression of their lustrous eyes. Before you realize what is

going on, the corner has been swept, with the effect of raising a stifling dust. In summer you would prefer the roof to the inside accommodation, but this happy alternative would be impossible in winter. The temperature of these crowded, unventilated, damp compartments—not to mention the fleas—makes you so uncomfortable that sleep is out of the question. A hole in the roof is often the only window, and serves also as a chimney ; but in winter even this is generally closed.

The heavy pungent smoke of the animal fuel with which your supper is being cooked at last drives you out of your corner, and you conclude to take a quiet look about the house. The children, overawed by your presence, make no sound and hardly dare to move. You notice one woman nursing a baby, tightly rolled in swaddling bands and strapped into a cradle. She does not remove the child, but sits upon the floor, which is of earth, tilting the cradle over to her. The cradle has no rockers, and if the child cries he is rudely “soothed” by being bumped from side to side. Another woman is churning a goatskin full of sour milk by jerking it back and forth as it hangs from a beam in the roof.

The meal, which consists of fermented milk, boiled wheat or rice, and eggs fried in a sea of butter, is at last served in the middle of the floor, on a round tray, about a yard in diameter, of wood or copper, resting on a low stool. Every article of food is served in a single dish, from which each helps himself, using his fingers for a fork. If the food is liquid, it is eaten by twisting the thin tenacious bread into the form of

a spoon, which disappears in the mouth together with what it conveys. The civilized drudgery of dish-washing is thus reduced to the simple process of washing hands, which each one does for himself, both before and after the meal.

A certain etiquette and kindly feeling refines even these dismal homes, and points to higher ideals than the material condition would indicate.

THE SASSOUN COMMUNITY.

As a matter of history I wish to place on record a brief description of the inhabitants of Sassoun, who were killed, scattered and destroyed as a community by the massacre of 1894, and subsequent events.

Hemmed in by rough mountains and wild Kurds, the Armenians of the Sassoun district were a remarkable community of about forty villages, shut off from the outside world, of which they had only the most vague ideas. Their position, bravery, and numbers had enabled them to resist, to some extent, the robber tribes around them, but not the constantly increasing extortions of the Turkish tax-gatherer. The dread of the former and the burden of the latter were all that clouded their otherwise glad and simple existence. They were not, like the more exposed and impoverished Armenians of the plains, in the habit of seeking employment in distant cities, but, like all mountaineers, were passionately attached to home. The commercial instinct, so strong in most Armenians, was foreign to them. I once asked one of the leading men of Ghelieguzan,

"What is there you need which you cannot make yourselves?" "Nothing but salt," he instantly replied, adding, after a pause, "and gunpowder." Shut out the Kurds, and the Armenians would have had no use for gunpowder except against the bears and wolves.

Though the mountains were rocky and precipitous, a large population supported itself by the care of fields and flocks in the fertile and sheltered valleys. Life in Sassoun was physically comfortable, though not luxurious. Open-handed hospitality and care of the poor were as much a duty as provision for one's own family. The houses were of stone, often two and even three stories high.

There was considerable variety in the occupations which followed one another in rapid succession throughout the year. No drones were tolerated in that busy hive, and in all their toil men and women stood shoulder to shoulder. Which bore the heavier burden the reader may decide. Take the care of the flocks and herds for instance, in which their chief wealth consisted. To the men was entrusted the task of pasturing and protecting them, but the women did all the milking and made the butter and cheese. The shearing of the sheep was men's work, but the women washed, carded, and spun the wool into thread, which was then woven into excellent cloth by the men on their heavy looms, and afterward made into garments for all the household by the women. Crude cotton, also, brought from Mesopotamia, was put through the same stages. The bringing of wood and water was always left to

the women and girls. After the men had ploughed, sowed, and irrigated the fields, the reaping—a very slow and laborious task—was done by their wives and sisters, who also winnowed and cleaned the grain, after the men had threshed it. The straw was carefully stored for the food of the horses and cattle in winter.

During the dry months of summer practically all the animals and most of the women and children would migrate to the cool upper slopes of the mountains, where the melting snow keeps the grass always green. The men by irrigation were able to raise wheat, millet, barley, and rye, together with such vegetables as potatoes, tomatoes, squashes, cucumbers, turnips, peas, and beans. Around their rude low stone houses they nourished a few fruit trees such as the apple, pear, cherry, apricot, and quince. In the lower valleys of Talori the fig also flourished and the vine, but in the course of the massacre all fruit trees and vineyards throughout the region were systematically cut down. Honey of excellent quality was very abundant.

These clever people made even their own iron tools, which were so good as to be readily sold in Moosh and other neighboring towns. The villagers obtained the iron from the crude ore which, after being laboriously extracted by hand was reduced in rude furnaces, kept at melting heat by hand bellows day and night, two weeks at a time. The only fuel used was wood, and care had to be taken not to let the metal run out in quantities larger than a blacksmith could easily handle in making a plowshare,

scythe, axe, sword, or knife. The report that these blacksmiths even had the skill to make a rifle barrel is a mistake.

I once asked a man and his wife to enumerate the various tasks which fell to their respective sexes and was quite amused at the eager competition into which they at once entered. Strange to say, the woman entirely omitted the training and care of children as one of her additional burdens. When I called attention to this oversight they both exclaimed "The children take care of themselves." And so they do, almost from the first. The children, with their bright eyes and ruddy faces, would be attractive but for the fact that they were often far from tidy, and were dressed in coarse garments of red or blue. They were loved but not often petted, being taught to be silent and to show an air of reverence in the presence of their elders. At a very early age, the children were initiated into the employments which were to occupy their lives.

Almost the only men who knew how to read and write were those connected with the Church, and they were by no means adepts. In the matter of numbers, however, they could easily calculate without the aid of figures. These intelligent highlanders knew the value of education, and had repeatedly tried to start schools in their villages, but they were invariably closed by the government.

The morality of the people of Sassoun was of a very high standard. Wine made by themselves was moderately used on festive occasions, but drunkenness was practically unknown. The mountain

women, unlike their sisters of the cities, used the veil, not to cover the face, but to fall as a graceful drapery down the back. They had the frank and direct look which we are accustomed to see only in children, and were quick to detect and resent evil, even with violence, as the intruder would find to his cost. These people had neither laws nor courts, but referred their disputes to the head-man of the village, from whose decision appeal was rarely made. The head-man, or "*réis*," held office simply by common consent of the villagers, not as a hereditary right or a prerogative of wealth, but because of superior character and ability.

Religion was a vital matter to the people of Sasoun, but concerned itself only with the barest essentials. They had no more conception of theological doctrines than had the people who listened to the Sermon on the Mount. Christianity was to them a story, the characters of which were real and kept before them by the frequent festivals of the Christian year. They felt profound reverence for the Virgin Mary, but Christ was the object of their worship. Their gratitude, submission, and love to Him would find expression in brief significant exclamations, deep sighs, and sometimes silent tears. Such evidences I have frequently noticed among Armenian peasants as they listened to the reading of the Scriptures or engaged in prayer. Their first daily act as they stepped from their dark cheerless dwellings was an act of prayer, accompanied by repeated prostrations to the East with the sign of the Cross.

A large number of villagers who had escaped the

general massacre, and, relying on Turkish promises, followed their priest into the soldiers' camp, were offered their lives on condition they would trample upon the Crucifix and Holy Gospels. But the priest in horror refused to commit this sacrilege, and every member of his flock, following his example, was forthwith butchered.

I have carefully verified these details of Sassoun life and of the massacre in conversation with Bedros and his wife, who, after escaping almost miraculously, when a score of their relatives were killed before their eyes, were brought to London to give their testimony. I was profoundly impressed with the simple dignity and absolute truthfulness of these witnesses, who bore bodily scars, and in their faces showed the evidence of the terrible sorrow and suffering through which they had so lately gone. When asked what his impression was of England, the man thoughtfully replied: "I wonder at the houses, the great buildings, the fields all like gardens, the multitude of people, their wealth, and their churches; but, most of all, I wonder that with all their greatness and power they did not lift a finger to save us, their poor fellow-Christians, of whose sufferings they have so long been officially informed."

The following incident throws much light upon the character and environment of the people of Sassoun. About six years ago twenty armed Kurds suddenly came down upon the house of a rich man near Ghelieguzan to steal the sheep, when only his wife and children were at home. They ordered the woman to prepare a good meal before they left. In

the most obliging manner the housewife set about her task. But in the meantime she dispatched one of her little boys to give the alarm to the men, away on the mountain side. The unsuspecting Kurds hung their long flint-lock rifles on the walls of the kitchen, and went out to search the stables and collect the live stock. While they were engaged in this work, out of sight, the woman with her strong fingers, quickly pulled out the flint from the lock of each musket, leaving them still hanging on the wall. In order to allow the men of her family more time, she prepared a specially elaborate meal, to which the Kurds made no objection. But when they were in the midst of the repast, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by the villagers who had hastily mustered. Each Kurd seized his flint-lock only to find it useless. They thereupon drew their swords and daggers, and were about to make a rush to escape, but were quickly brought to bay by the levelled muskets of the Armenians, to whom they thought best to surrender. After being stripped of all their arms and outer garments the Kurds were informed that they might go home, and if they wished their weapons they might return the next day with reinforcements and try to take them. The Kurds did not see fit to try this method, but so pestered the Armenians in other ways, that at the end of three months the muskets were given back to avoid further trouble.

It should not be thought, however, that such incidents as this could occur among the Armenians anywhere in Turkey, except among the highlanders of

Sassoun, or those of Zeitoun, three hundred miles west in the Taurus mountains. These two little communities were quite exceptional in their secure location and brave spirit. The other Armenians throughout Eastern Turkey, timid and crushed by more severe oppression, used to speak of the Sassounlis with an admiration almost akin to reverence. It was on this account that *they* were singled out by the Government for extermination, for it was feared that their brave and independent spirit might spread to the Armenians of the plains and cities, while their destruction, on the other hand, would strike terror everywhere, and prove a salutary object-lesson to those who might be disposed to express dissatisfaction with the Sultan's rule. In this calculation the Turks were mistaken. The blood of those noble mountaineers, instead of acting like a stupefying drug upon the Armenian race, proved to be a stimulant, and enlisted the sympathy of Europe. This so alarmed and irritated the Turks that, in order to prevent any progress of the Armenians either through their own efforts or those of Europe, they have committed further massacres in comparison with which Sassoun hardly deserves to be mentioned. There are no words to characterize the cowardly betrayal of the Armenians by England, and Europe which guaranteed their protection.

The "Powers" impotent for good, while masquerading in the livery of Christianity, have proved its worst enemies and shown themselves callous even to the principles of ordinary humanity.

APPENDIX A.

A BIT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY.

THE CASE.

(Foreign Relations of the United States, 1884, pp. 538-539.¹)

(Inclosure in No. 317.)

Mr. Wallace to Aarifi Pasha.

Note Verbale.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Constantinople, January 24, 1884.

The legation of the United States of America has the honor to invite the attention of his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, to the matters following :

By note No. 167, June 13, 1883, the legation informed his highness that two American citizens, traveling in the vilayet of Bitlis, had been set upon by Kurds, robbed, and left to die, and that the governor-general of the vilayet had manifested the most singular indifference about the affair, and might be fairly charged with responsibility for the escape of the malefactors. The suggestion was then made that his highness would serve the cause of humanity and justice by ordering the most energetic measures to be taken for the apprehension of the robbers.

By a communication, No. 71235, June 13, 1883, his highness was good enough to answer the note of the legation, and give the pleas-

¹ This is an exact copy of the official documents as published by the State Department, capitalization included.

ing intelligence that the governor-general had succeeded in discovering the goods taken from the two gentlemen, and that the robbers had been arrested and delivered up to justice. This information his highness reported as derived from the governor-general.

This report the legation found it necessary to correct; and for that purpose it addressed a second note to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, No. 179, dated September 10, 1883, declaring that the robbers had not been arrested, and that the goods and money taken from Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds had been returned to them, but in small parts. Under impression that it was yet possible to obtain the powerful assistance of the Sublime Porte in bringing the thieves and assassins to justice, the legation in the same note proceeded to give the full particulars of the affair, both those connected with the assault and those descriptive of the action of the governor-general. Of the assault, it remarked that Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, accepting the assurance of the governor-general that the roads were perfectly safe, set out on their journey without a guard of zaptiehs. They put up for a night at a house where there was present Moussa Bey, son of Meza Bey, an influential Kurdish chief. When they took their coffee they failed to send a cup of it to the said Moussa, who feeling himself insulted by the inattention, took four assistants and next day waylaid the gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Knapp, they beat with clubs until they supposed him dead. Moussa Bey, with his own hand, cut down Dr. Reynolds, giving him ten cuts with a sword. The two were then bound and dragged into the bushes and there left to die. That there might be no excuse, such as that the murderers were unknown, the legation gave his highness the names of the subordinate assassins and their places of abode, Sherif Oglon Osman and Iskan Oglon Hassan, both of the village of Movnok. A third one was pointed out as the servant of Moussa Bey, living in the village of Kabiaa. Of the action of the governor-general the legation said further that when the affair was reported to him he made a show of action by sending zaptiehs to arrest the robbers, but, singular to remark, he selected Meza Bey, the father of Moussa, to take charge of the party. Going to the village of Auzont, Meza Bey pointed out four Kurds of another tribe as the guilty men, took them into custody and carried them for identification to Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, who said they were not the assailants.

During the night, in Aozou, a bundle was thrown through a window into a room occupied by the police, which on examination proved to

contain a portion of the stolen goods. With this the governor-general rested from his efforts and dispatched to his highness the minister of foreign affairs, that the stolen goods were recovered and returned, and the felons captured and punished. This report, the legation took the liberty of informing his highness, was not true, also that the chief of the assassins, Moussa Bey, was still at large; and to emphasize its statement, the legation further said to his highness, that the details it communicated were current through all the region of Bitlis, having been first given out by Moussa himself. The legation then, in the same note, exposed the maladministration of the governor-general in language plain as respect for his highness, the minister, and for the Sublime Porte would permit, and suggested as the only means of accomplishing anything like redress that a brave impartial officer be sent to Bitlis to investigate the conduct of the governor and take the affair in his own hands. "Such a step," it was added, "might serve to save the lives of many Christians," and it was further represented that "could the assassins be brought to just sentence it would unquestionably lessen the demand for indemnity which otherwise it would be the duty of the legation to present against the Imperial Government in this connection."

On November 7, 1883, the legation of the United States, by a third note, No. 184, communicated to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, that the governor-general of Bitlis had confronted four persons with Mr. Knapp for identification, and that that gentleman had recognized Moussa Bey as one of those who had robbed and wounded him. The legation of the United States then expressed a hope that the minister of foreign affairs would give proper orders for bringing Moussa Bey and his companions in crime before the tribunals for trial.

Still later, on November 12, 1883, the legation of the United States addressed a fourth note, No. 185, to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, detailing again the circumstances of the attempted murder of Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, and representing the untrustworthiness of the governor-general by charging that Moussa Bey had already obtained from him assurances of immunity in the event of a trial and conviction.

His highness, the minister, was then requested that, if it was decided to maintain the governor-general at his post, orders be given for the transfer of the criminals to Constantinople for trial.

The three notes last named of the legation of the United States

have not been answered by his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, except in a note, dated December 8, 1883, in which he is pleased to renew assurances based upon telegrams from the governor-general, which are utterly unreliable.

Wherefore, abandoning hope of justice through the governor-general of Bitlis, and the judicial tribunals of the empire, the legation of the United States finds itself compelled to change its form of application for redress, and demand of the Sublime Porte indemnity in behalf of Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, for the former £1,500, and for the latter, because of the more serious nature of his injuries, £2,000.

THE POSITION TAKEN IN WASHINGTON.

(Foreign Relations of the United States, 1884, p. 544.)

No. 419.

Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Wallace.

(No. 153.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 13, 1884.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 317, of the 25th ultimo, relative to the case of the Rev. Mr. Knapp and Dr. Reynolds, murderously attacked by Kurds near Bitlis, and to say that, after a careful consideration of all the facts before the Department, the inaction of the governor of Bitlis and the failure of the supreme Government to force him to undertake such measures as the case evidently demanded, must be regarded as a denial of justice. While this Government is always averse to making money demands for indemnity in countries whose administration of justice may differ from our own, the Department feels compelled to resort to this remedy under circumstances which manifestly make the local officers and the Government of the Porte responsible for the failure to do justice in this case.

The action reported in your dispatch is, consequently, approved.

I am, &c.,

FRED'K T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

THE POSITION TAKEN IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

General Lew Wallace is understood to have been emphatically a *persona grata* as U. S. Minister to Turkey, in fact to have enjoyed, to a very exceptional degree, the personal confidence and friendship of His Majesty the present Sultan. The following quotation will show what treatment even he received in the discharge of his official duties in the case under consideration :

From the Regular Correspondent of the Tribune.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 1, 1884.

The Porte, in deciding how far it is safe to affront foreign Governments, has even ranked the United States below some of the European States. The Porte during the past year has treated General Wallace as if he were the representative of a Danubian Principality. Remonstrance after remonstrance against fresh violations of the treaties it has left unanswered, and it has repeatedly omitted the courtesy of a bare acknowledgment of their receipt. In fact, Turkey has been relying upon the distance of the United States. Perhaps its officials even suppose that the American navy is afraid to risk adventures so far from home as the coasts of the Levant.

General Wallace found it necessary, for the sake of the safety of American citizens in Turkey, to press for some definition of the situation. During nearly five weeks he had been refused a personal interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the ground of "indisposition." During all that time the representative of that Minister declined to enter upon any discussion of the important questions at issue. Four times the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States had been turned away from the door of the Sublime Porte by the refusal of the Grand Vizier to see him. Each time plausible reasons were assigned which seemed to render any insistence on the part of the General uncourteous. Yet it became daily more evident that all these plausible excuses for declining negotiation on the injuries done by Turkey to American commerce and to American citizens were part of a settled purpose not to redress the wrongs.—*New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, March 26, 1884.

THE RESULT.

The ten years that have elapsed since the above was written clearly show that what seemed then to be a "settled purpose" has become the settled policy of the Ottoman Government in regard to Americans and their rights in Turkey.

In regard to the outcome of the case of Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, the humiliating fact must be recorded that not one cent of the indemnity demanded by the United States of America has to this day been obtained. The monster, Moussa Bey, was allowed by the Turkish Government to continue his outrages on the Armenian villages of the great Moosh plain, until his record became so appalling, that under European pressure the Porte summoned him to Constantinople, where he was entertained as the Sultan's guest. He was whitewashed by the courts, but the Sultan was prevailed upon to invite him to make a pilgrimage to Medina at his expense, and there spend the remainder of his days in religious exercises.

APPENDIX B.

U. S. CONSULATES IN EASTERN TURKEY.

The following petition was recently presented to the Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, for the establishment of U. S. Consulates at Erzerum and Harpoot. The necessary legislation has been promptly enacted, for which the thanks of all Americans in Turkey is due to His Excellency the President, to the Secretary of State and to members of both Houses of Congress.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 3, 1895.

Apropos to the recent massacre of five thousand Armenians in Turkey, it is clearly inexpedient for the United States to mix up in the Eastern Question. But it is equally clear that *the duty of protecting a large body of native born American citizens constantly subjected to danger, injury and insult in that land is not complicated by any Monroe Doctrine.* In their interests, attention is called to this brief statement of facts, and to a practical request for consular protection.

1. NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND INTERESTS INVOLVED.

Distributed in thirty of the principal cities of Asiatic Turkey alone, there is a permanent body of *two hundred and fifty Americans*, not including their children, who hold *over two million dollars* of American property for residence and the use of their educational, medical, publishing and religious enterprises.

These figures do not cover the large commercial interests of Americans in Turkey, for which statistics are not at hand.

2. NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE DANGER TO WHICH THEY ARE EXPOSED.

There are two sources of danger: first, the *lawlessness* of numerous highwaymen who infest the country, and of the fanatical Moslem

population of the cities; and second, the *hostility* of Turkish officials, who have repeatedly failed to restrain, and in some cases have even encouraged attacks upon the lives and property of American citizens.

3. EVIDENCE OF THIS DANGEROUS CONDITION.

So far back as June 29th, 1881, Secretary Blaine, in official instructions to Minister Wallace at Constantinople, wrote :

"Your attention will doubtless be prominently and painfully drawn to the insecurity of the lives and property of foreign travelers in Turkey, and the failures of the authorities to prevent or repress outrages upon American citizens by wayside robbers and murderers, or even to execute its own laws in the rare instances of the perpetrators of such outrages being brought to justice. I cannot take a better text on which to base this instruction, than the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to the President by a number of American residents in Turkey. Its statements are known to be entirely within the truth, and can be verified abundantly from the files of your legation. They show in simple yet forcible language, the insecurity of traveling in that country, and *the instances to the number of eight, within the past two years, when American citizens have been robbed and beaten by lawless marauders.* On these occasions the lives of the assailed have been at the mercy of the robbers and, in one instance at least, the taking of life preceded the robbery."—*Foreign Relations of the United States 1881.*

The above extract refers to outrages in Western Asia Minor and the vicinity of Constantinople, but it is well known that in the Eastern and interior part of Turkey, where many of us live, *the insecurity is greater and has steadily increased, during the thirteen years that have elapsed since the above facts were admitted by the State Department.*

The murderous attack by a Kurdish chief in person, which nearly cost Dr. G. C. Reynolds, of Van his life, and for which *no indemnity was ever obtained*, though the assailant was positively identified in court, is reported in full in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1883, 1884, and 1890.

The arrest and indignities inflicted upon Mr. Richardson of Erzerum, by the Governor-General, for which *no apology even was ever secured*, are related in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1891.*

The burning of Marsovan College by an unrestrained Turkish mob

and the danger to the lives of many American residents is found in *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1893.

More cases of injury and insult, may be found in the same official records. But in many other instances it has been felt to be useless and inexpedient to even report them. *The absence of any American representative to substantiate and vindicate our rights on the ground, and the hopelessness of securing anything but further injury by trying to press our claims, often drives us to the humiliating necessity of suffering injustice with scarcely a protest.*

THE REQUEST.

We feel that the condition shown by the above evidence, not to add more, abundantly justifies a renewed request for some *Consular protection in the Eastern part of Turkey, for the American citizens permanently residing there in the prosecution of lawful pursuits.* Our present exposed and helpless condition is clearly set forth in a communication from the United States Legation at Constantinople, to the State Department: "It may not be doubted that the absence of an American Consul at Erzroom leaves our citizens there singularly destitute of means to vindicate their rights and protect their interests; this is the more regrettable as Erzroom is a missionary station of considerable importance, and situated in a province where official protection is most frequently and urgently needed. *The British Consul there is instructed to act 'unofficially' for our citizens, but his right to represent them is not recognized by the Ottoman authorities; the obvious consequence is, that when his good offices are most needed, they are of least avail.*" *Foreign Relations of United States* 1891.

We are thus seen to be cut off from Consular protection of any kind. The nearest U. S. Consul, Mr. Jewett of Sivas, an excellent man, is unavailable for us for three reasons: first, the delay and difficulty in communicating with him on account of our isolation, and the very circuitous post-routes, in case the local authorities were kind enough not to intercept our letters, as they have repeatedly, even the official correspondence of the United States Minister (*Foreign Relations of the U. S.* 1893); second, the distance and methods of travel are such that probably from one to two months would elapse after any outrage, before the Sivas Consul could be notified and arrive; third, the Consul at Sivas could not leave his post without neglecting the large American interests in Asia Minor.

Aside from being needed when special difficulties do occur, it is obvious that the mere presence of a United States Consul on the ground would have a marked effect in *detering* both the lawless and fanatical elements, and the officials, who have never seen the stars and stripes, from repeating acts which have caused much injury to the interests of American citizens, and have been *the occasion of tedious and unpleasant diplomatic correspondence between the two countries.* The expense of living in Turkey is unusually low.

In view of all the foregoing facts, it is urgently requested that American Consuls be located at Erzerum and Harpoot. These cities are large centres of population and of American interests, and the seat of Provincial Governors. They have large commercial and strategic importance, and as good facilities for communication by post, telegraph, or private messenger as the country affords. From Erzerum, Bitlis and Van could also be cared for, while Mardin and Mosul would naturally be under Harpoot, and thus the Americans of that whole territory would be brought within two or three week's journey of Consular protection.

We are from seven hundred to one thousand miles from Constantinople, which means a journey of three to six weeks. The fact that at least *5,000 men, women and children in our midst have been massacred, and this fact kept nearly three months from the civilized world, is a significant hint as to our isolation and danger.* The articles in the last *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 29, and in the *Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1895, give much light on the situation.

With shame it must be recorded that, although Congress, in January, 1895, authorized United States consulates at Erzerum and Harpoot, the Executive branch of the Government has failed to secure their establishment. Messrs. Chilton and Hunter, both excellent men, were sent to Turkey as properly accredited consuls. But the Porte refused to recognize them, and the United States, as usual, swallowed the insult.

This course so emboldened the Turkish Government, that it proceeded in November, 1895, to burn and bombard the important American settlement at Harpoot.

These soon followed the burning of an American building in Marash.

The timid and tardy manner in which indemnity is now being sought, is likely to lead to greater insolence by Turkey, and the ultimate ruin of American interests throughout the Empire.

APPENDIX C.

DR. HAMLIN'S EXPLANATION.

(*New York Herald*, December 20, 1894.)

To the Editor of the Herald :

A cutting from the *Herald* has been sent to me to-day containing a letter of His Excellency, Mavroyeni, on the Armenian atrocities. I must strongly object to the use he makes of a letter of mine in the Boston *Congregationalist* of last year (December 23, 1893).

The object of that letter was to show the absurdity of the revolutionary plotters. The Armenians are a noble race, but few in number, scattered and unarmed. The Turkish Government has never had the least fear of any such movement. It knows well that there is no place in the Empire where one thousand or even one hundred Armenians could assemble with hostile intent. And besides they have no arms, and they are not accustomed to their use. They would be lambs in the midst of wolves. Every one knows this who knows anything of Turkey outside of Constantinople.

It is to be greatly regretted that the Ottoman Ambassador should attempt to cover up the path of these horrid atrocities which have agitated the whole Christian world and for which Turkey must give account. It were far better to deplore the fact and work for justice and judgment. It may be the time has passed when such deeds of blood and torture, committed upon unarmed men, women and children, can be condoned by the civilized world.

The plots of the revolutionists were harmless as to any effective force, but were very pernicious in arousing fanaticism. The fact that a few hair-brained young men in foreign lands had plotted a revolution was a sufficient reason in the view of Moslem fanaticism for devoting the whole race to destruction. It was this which I feared and it is this which has happened.

Another object of the letter, from which His Excellency has quoted, was to draw attention to the fact that this revolutionary movement is a game which Russia is playing in her own interests. And she has played it well. She has again caught Turkey in her trap. The whole civilized world will now approve of her marching in with force to stop the slaughter of an industrious, peaceful, unarmed peasantry. If Russia enters, it will be with professions of great kindness toward the Sultan. It will be to aid him in his well known benevolent intentions in the government of his Christian subjects! But she will call the Armenians to her standard and will arm and train them and they will prove a brave and valiant soldiery. Some of the ablest generals of the Russian army have been Armenians. Thus armed and trained, with the aid of their Russian allies, they will defend their own homes in the Sassoun or any other district.

Turkey has brought this upon herself. His Excellency is a Greek gentleman, and has a natural sympathy with Russia. His influence has been to magnify the revolutionary plots instead of showing, as my letter did, their insignificance and their Russian character, and has led his government to give to them an importance which seems absurd. The Turkish Government has had sufficient opportunity to study and understand Russia since the Treaty of 1829, and again of 1833. Have her trusted advisers been true to her, or have they betrayed her interests?

The civilized and Christian world awaits with profound and fixed attention the solution of the question whether bloody, fanatical violence or law shall reign over the Eastern regions of the Turkish Empire.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass., December 18, 1894.

PART II.

THE MOHAMMEDAN REIGN OF TERROR IN ARMENIA.

CONTAINING THE LATEST ACCOUNTS OF THE MASSACRES;
THRILLING SPEECH OF THE HON. W. E. GLADSTONE;
RELIEF WORK OF CLARA BARTON, DR. GRACE KIMBALL AND OTHERS;
THE HISTORY OF TURKEY; MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE
PEOPLE, ETC., ETC.

NOTE.

To guard our readers against the prejudiced and often unfounded statements that have appeared in regard to Armenia, and the terrible massacres that have been perpetrated there, we have used great care as to the source of the material here presented, and desire to express our thanks to *The Independent* for much valuable information, the general accuracy of which is unquestioned.

CHAPTER XIII.

Appalling Condition of Armenia.

THE first part of this volume, by Frederick Davis Greene, M. A., is fully endorsed by the eminent names found in the first chapter. Dark and horrible as the record is, it does not comprise the complete story of those deeds of pillage, murder and outrage in Armenia which have shocked the whole civilized world, and awakened universal horror and indignation. We present additional details of these bloody massacres, and also trace the causes which led to the recent outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism and crime.

The following facts are indisputable: The Armenians, in hundreds of cities and villages throughout an area five hundred miles long and three hundred miles wide have been given over to murder, rape and robbery. The latest trustworthy estimates from Constantinople place the actual deaths at 40,000, the great majority being males, the bread-winners of the people. Of the survivors, half a million have been reduced to extreme poverty, and two hundred and fifty thousand, mostly women and children, are in danger of perishing from starvation, exposure and sickness, unless they will accept Mohammedanism.

Misrepresentation of Facts.

Persistent efforts are made to obscure the situation and to alienate sympathy from the Armenians on the ground that they are rebels. Some color has been given to this idea by the wild talk of a few desperate Armenians outside of Turkey

but, with the one exception of the isolated and inaccessible town of Zeitoun, there never has been anything that can be called an Armenian insurrection. The very idea of such a thing is ridiculous; for, in the first place, the Armenians are only one-tenth of the Sultan's subjects, and nowhere constitute a majority of the population except in the city of Van, where, strange to say, there has been no outbreak at all. Secondly, they are exclusively a commercial and agricultural people, possessing neither arms, nor a knowledge of their use. Third, they are people of sense, and know that their only hope is through European intervention.

Why then have they been massacred? Because Europe *did* intervene and compel the Sultan to accept a Scheme of Reforms which would give the Christians equality with Mohammedans before the law, and a proportionate share in the judicial, civil and police administration in the six eastern provinces.

Motive of the Massacres.

While the Sultan outwardly accepted this scheme, he could not allow its execution without endangering his authority as religious head, and the supremacy of the Turks, who are the ruling class; for *in principle* the "Infidel" has no right to live in a Mohammedan State, except in subjection, and *in practice* the active, capable Armenian would soon outstrip the stolid, non-progressive Turk if given a fair chance. The only course left, from the Turkish point of view, was to diminish and paralyze the Armenian population to such an extent as to render the Scheme of Reforms inoperative. This was immediately and thoroughly accomplished within one month after the Sultan gave his consent to the Scheme of Reforms on October 16th, 1895.

While the motive of the massacres at first was political,

Moslem fanaticism and hope of plunder were kindled, and this accounts for the extremes of cruelty and brutality with which the work was done. But now that it has been accomplished, the fires of race hatred and lust have, to some extent, burned themselves out, the massacres have ceased, and "order" will be restored. The Crime of the European powers consists in not having guaranteed the successful execution of the reforms they demanded by a prompt and determined use of force. This would have prevented all bloodshed.

Account by an Eye-witness.

The following description of the present condition of Armenia is furnished by Mr. E. J. Dillon, the special Commissioner of the *London Daily Telegraph*. It is the account given by a close observer who has been upon the ground, and is accurate and truthful in all its horrifying details:

A pretty story is told of a little girl, who, fearing to lie in bed in the dark, begged her mother not to take the candle away until sleep should render it needless. "What are you afraid of, darling?" asked the strong-minded parent. "Of darkness," was the reply. "But remember, dear, that God is here in the room with you, and God is light itself. He will stay with you all night to keep you company." The silence that followed this dogmatic announcement seemed to show that the intended effect had been produced, until it was softly broken by the sweet voice of the child: "Then please, mamma, take God away and leave the candle."

The attitude of the Armenian population in Turkey toward the humane peoples of Western Europe, who, to fiendish tortures and bloody massacres, hopefully oppose well-timed expressions of righteous indignation and moral sympathy, offers considerable analogy to the frame of mind of that untutored child. "We can dispense with your sympathy and pity



EARLY PORTRAIT OF ABDUL HAMID, SULTAN OF TURKEY.

if only you guarantee us security for life and property." So reasons the grateful Armenian. The impartial outsider, acquainted with the horrible condition of country and people, would naturally go a step further, and fearlessly affirm that the expression of sympathy at public meetings, followed, as in England, by supine inactivity, is not merely inferior to effective material aid, but is positively disastrous.

Turkish Hatred of Armenians.

Formerly the Turks disliked the Armenians, and the blood-bath of Sassoun offers a fair indication of the vehemence of their feeling. At present, after the wanton humiliation inflicted upon them by the European friends of their victims, they loathe the very name of Armenia, and deem no cruelties sufficient to satisfy their outraged self-love. The Vali (Governor-General) of Erzeroum, when the foreign consuls of that city lately brought an unusually crying case of injustice to his notice, told the Dragomans that the Turkish Government and Armenian people stood to each other in the relation of husband and wife, and that outsiders who felt pity for the wife when her husband maltreated her, would do wisely and well to abstain from interfering. And the remark is quite true, *if the pair are to go on living together*; for the brutal husband can always choose his own time and place to vent his feelings on his helpless mate.

And this is what is being actually done in Turkish Armenia. Under the eyes of the Russian, English, and French delegates at Moush, the witnesses who had the courage to speak the truth to the representatives of the Powers were thrown into prison, and not a hand was raised to protect them; and within a stone's throw of the foreign consuls and missionaries, loyal Armenians were hung up by the heels, the hair of their heads and beards plucked out one by one, their

bodies branded with red-hot irons and defiled in beastly ways that can neither be described nor hinted at in Christian countries, their wives dishonored in their presence, and their daughters raped before their eyes. And all that the philanthropic English nation has to offer these, its *proteges*, is eloquent indignation and barren sympathy. Would it not have been much more benevolent to hush up the massacre of Sassoun and ignore the Pits of Death than to irritate the Turk to the point of madness and then leave him free to vent his fury upon Christians who are shielded only by sentimental eloquence?

A Costly Blunder.

And yet the duty of England is simplicity itself; she should either put a speedy end to the horrors of Turkish Dahomey, or publicly proclaim her inability to fulfil her obligations in Armenia, at the same time repudiating her gigantic engagement to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire in Asia. For as it was a grievous blunder to raise this Armenian Question without having first made sure that she could work it out to a satisfactory issue, it is little less than a crime to give the Turks the needful time to carry out their nefarious plans by refusal to look the facts in the face.

Those who are familiar with the condition of the five provinces and their Christian inhabitants will unhesitatingly acquiesce in this view of the subject; for those who are not, the following brief sketch may prove instructive:

Turkey's real sway in Armenia dates from the year 1847, when Osman Pasha gave the final *coup de grâce* to the secular power of the Koordish Derebeks in the five south-eastern provinces (Van, Bitlis, Moush, Bayazed, and Diarbekir). During that long spell of nearly fifty years, we can clearly distinguish two periods: one of shameful misgovernment (1847-1891), and the other (1892-1894) of frank extermina-

tion. Suasion or remonstrance may do much to remedy the abuses that flow from the former system; force alone can achieve anything against the latter. And in this sense Lord Salisbury's expressed view of the matter is absolutely correct.

In the year 1891 the Sublime Porte, fearing serious dangers from the promised introduction of reforms into Armenia, and from the anticipated hostility in war time of the Christians living in provinces bordering upon Russia, resolved to kill two birds with one stone, and created the so-called Hamidieh cavalry, composed exclusively of Koords. It was an application of the principle on which rebels and rioters throw open the prison doors and invite convicts to rob and kill the members of the upper classes. The plan as propounded by some of the highest officials of the Empire was that the Armenians were to be driven out of the border lands, such as Alashkerd, their places to be taken by Mohammedans, that their numbers in all the five provinces were to be so considerably reduced that the need of special reforms for them should pass away, and that in case of war the Koords should act as a counterweight to the Cossacks.

Armenians Threatened with Extermination.

This plain policy of extermination has been faithfully carried out and considerably extended from that day to this, and unless speedily arrested, will undoubtedly lead to a final solution of the Armenian problem; but a solution which will disgrace Christianity and laugh civilization to scorn. The enlisted Koords were left in their native places, exempted from service, supplied with arms, invested with the inviolability of ambassadors, and paid with the regularity characteristic of the Sublime Porte. And they fulfilled their mission with scrupulous exactness: robbing rich Armenians, looting houses, burning corn and hay, raiding villages, lifting cattle, raping

young girls of tender age, dishonoring married women, driving away entire populations, and killing all who were manly or mad enough to attempt to resist. Armenians are now among the poorest and most wretched people on the globe.

Perhaps the Turkish authorities did not foresee, nor Turkish justice approve, these results? The authorities not only expected them, but aided and abetted, incited and rewarded those who actually committed them; and whenever an Armenian dared to complain, not only was he not listened to by the officials whom he paid to protect him, but he was thrown into a fetid prison and tortured and outraged in strange and horrible ways for his presumption and insolence.

The massacre of Sassoun itself is now proved to have been the deliberate deed of the representatives of the Sublime Porte, carefully planned and unflinchingly executed in spite of the squeamishness of Koordish brigands and the fitful gleams of human nature that occasionally made themselves felt in the hearts even of Turkish soldiers.

To complain, therefore, of the insecurity of life and property in Armenia, so long as the country is irresponsibly governed by the Sublime Porte, is as reasonable as it would be for a soldier to object to the great danger to life and limb from the enemy's bullets during a sanguinary engagement. The result complained of is precisely the object aimed at, and its completeness the most conclusive proof of the efficiency of the means employed. An eminent foreign statesman who is commonly credited with Turcophile sentiments of uncompromising thoroughness, lately remarked to me in private conversation that Turkish rule in Armenia might be aptly described as organized brigandage, legalized murder, and meritorious immorality.

Protests against such a system may be right and proper, but they can hardly be considered profitable. A philanthro-

pist visiting a prison may feel shocked when he discovers one of the convicts with his hands and feet tied with cords; but he will scarcely spend time in complaining if he learns that the prisoner has been condemned to death, and is about to be hanged by the executioner.

The People Reduced to Poverty.

The first step in carrying out the Plan of Extermination was the systematic impoverishment of the people. This is natural in a country whose officials are kept waiting eight or ten months for their salaries, and must then content themselves with but a fraction of what is due. "I have not received a para * for the past twenty weeks, and I cannot buy even clothes," exclaimed the official who was told off to "shadow" me day and night in Erzeroum. "Do they pay you your salary regularly?" I inquired of the head of the telegraph office at Kutek. "No, Effendi, not regularly," he replied; "I have not had anything now for fully eight months. Oh, yes, I have; a month's salary was given to me at Bairam."† "How do you manage to live, then?" "Poorly." "But you must have some money to go on with, or else you could not keep body and soul together?" "I have a little, of course, but not enough. Allah is good. You have now given me some money yourself." "Yes, but that is not for you; it is for telegrams, and belongs to the State."

"Well, my shadow will have grown considerably less before the State beholds the gleam of it. I keep for myself all money paid in by the public. I take it as instalments of my salary. It does not amount to very much. But whatever it happens to be, I pocket it." These men are, of course, petty officials, but their case is not essentially different from that of the

* A Turkish coin. Forty paras are equivalent to twopence.

† Bairam is the festival which follows the long fast of Ramazan.

majority of their betters, and judges, officers, deputy-governors, and valis, etc., are, to the full, as impecunious and incomparably more greedy.

Tahsin Pasha, the late Governor-General of Bitlis, is a fair specimen of the high Turkish dignitary of the epoch of extermination. An avaricious skinflint, he was as cruel as Ugolino's enemy, Ruggieri, and as cold as Captain Maleger in Spenser's "Faëry Queen." He cultivated a habit of imprisoning scores of wealthy Armenians, without any imputed charge or show of pretext. Liberty was then offered them in return for exorbitant sums representing the greater part of their substance.

Barbaric Tortures.

Refusal to pay was followed by treatment compared with which the torture of the Jews in mediæval England, or the agonies of the eunuchs of the princesses of Oude in modern India, were mild and salutary chastisements. Some men were kept standing up all day and night, forbidden to eat, drink or move. If they lost strength and consciousness, cold water or hot irons soon brought them round, and the work of coercion continued.

Time and perseverance being on the side of the Turks, the Armenians generally ended by sacrificing everything that made life valuable, for the sake of exemption from maddening pain. It was a case of sacrificing or being sacrificed, and that which seemed the lesser of the two evils was invariably chosen.

In the Vilayet of Bitlis several hundred Armenians who possessed money, cattle or crops, were arbitrarily imprisoned, and set free on the payment of large bribes. Some of them, unable to produce the money at once, were kept in the noisome dungeons until they raised the sum demanded, or were released by death. About one hundred Armenian prisoners died in the prison of Bitlis alone.

The following petition signed and sent to me—and if I mistake not, also to the foreign delegates at Moush—from a well-known man whose name and address I publish, will help to convey some idea of how the Vali of Bitlis governed his province, and prospered the while: “We, who have served the Turkish Government with absolute loyalty, are maltreated and oppressed, more particularly of late years, now by the



PALACE OF THE SULTAN—CONSTANTINOPLE.

Government itself, now by Koordish brigands. Thus last year (1894) I was suddenly arrested at my own house by Turkish police and gendarmes, who escorted me to the prison of Bitlis, where I was insulted and subjected to the most horrible tortures. Having been kept four months there, I was released on condition of paying \$2250, by way of ransom.

“No reason, no pretext has been given for this treatment. On my return home, I found my house in disorder, my affairs

ruined, my means gone. My first thought was to appeal to the Turkish Government for redress, but I shrank from doing so, lest I should be condemned again. Hearing that you have come to Armenia for the purpose of investigating the condition of the people, I venture to request you, in God's name, to take notice of the facts of my case. Signed, Boghos Darmanian, of the village of Iknakhodja of the Kaza of Manazkerd."

From Wealth to Want.

In 1890, the village elder of Odandjor in Boolanyk, Abdal by name, was a wealthy man, as wealth goes in that part of the world. He possessed 50 buffaloes, 80 oxen, 600 sheep, besides horses, etc. The women of his family wore golden ornaments in their hair and on their breast, and he paid \$250 a year in taxes to the treasury. That was in 1890. In 1894 he was a poverty-stricken peasant, familiar with misery and apprehensive of death from hunger.

His village and those of the entire district had been plundered, and the inhabitants stripped, so to say, naked, the Turkish authorities smiling approval the while. During the year 1894, in the districts of Boolanyk and Moush alone, upwards of ten thousand head of cattle and sheep were driven off by the Koords.

This was the method in vogue all over the country; the details varied according to the condition of things, places, and kinglets, but the means and end never varied. The result is the utter disappearance of wealth and the rapid spread of misery, so intense, so irremediable, so utterly loathsome in its moral and physical effects as to have inspired some of its victims with that wild courage akin to madness which always takes its rise in despair.

Between the Vali or Governor-General and the Zaptieh or tax-gatherer the rungs of the administrative ladder are many,

and to each and all of them some portion of the substance of industrious Armenians adheres. No doubt there are far worse things than the loss of one's property, and unemotional Englishmen would rather save their sympathy for those who have endured them.

But surely even that is bad enough when the outcome not of crime, accident, or carelessness, but of shameless and defiant injustice, and where the loser has a family of some fifteen to twenty persons. And that the loss of property very often entailed far greater losses will be evident from some of the following facts :

A Tale of Horror.

In July, 1892, a captain of his Majesty's Hamidieh Cavalry, Idris by name, an ornament of the Hassnanlee tribe, came with his brother to demand a contribution of fodder from the inhabitants of Hamsisheikh. They accosted two of the Armenian notables, Alo and Hatchadoor, and ordered them to provide the hay required. "We do not possess such a quantity in the whole village," they replied. "Produce the hay without more ado, or I'll shoot you dead," exclaimed Idris. "But it does not exist, and we cannot create it." "Then die," said the gallant captain, and shot them dead on the spot.

A formal complaint was lodged against Idris, and the Kaimakam, to his credit, arrested him and kept him in prison for four weeks, when the valiant Koord having paid the usual bribe was set at liberty. About thirty similar murders were committed in the same district of Boolanyk during that season, with the same publicity and the same impunity.

At first the Armenians were wont to complain when their relatives or friends were killed, in the hope that in some cases the arm of the law might be raised to punish the murderers

and thus produce a deterrent effect upon others who might feel disposed to go and do likewise. But they were very soon weaned of this habit, by methods the nature of which may be gathered from the following incident :

In July, 1892, a Koord named Ahmed Ogloo Bahal rode over to Govandook (District of Khnouss) and drove off four



CATHEDRAL (NOW THE MOSQUE) OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

oxen belonging to an Armenian named Mookho. In 1892 the law forbidding Christians to carry arms was not yet strictly observed, and Mookho, possessing a revolver, and seeing that the Koord was about to use his, fired. Both weapons went off at once, and both men fell dead on the spot. What then happened was this : Nineteen Armenians of the village, none of whom had any knowledge of what had occurred, were arrested and put in jail and told that they would be released on payment of a heavy bribe. Ten paid it and were set free

at once. The remainder, refusing, were kept in prison for a long time afterwards. None of the Koords were molested.

"Why should Mohammedans be punished for killing Armenians?" asked a Koordish brigand who was also a Hamidieh officer, of me. "It is unheard of." Why indeed? That the relatives of the murdered people should be punished and punished severely for complaining of those who have made them widows or orphans seems meet and proper to the Mohammedan mind—perhaps because it is usual.

Incidents of Cruelty.

In August, 1893, the Djibranlee Koords attacked the village of Kaghkik, plundered it, and wounded a merchant named Oannes, who was engaged in business in his shop. Next day Oannes went to the Deputy Governor (Kaimakam) in Khnoussaberd and lodged a complaint, whereupon the Kaimakam put him in prison for "lying." The sufferings inflicted upon him in that hotbed of typhoid fever exceeded belief—but that is another story.

After eight days his neighbors brought a Koord before the Kaimakam who bore out their evidence that Oannes had been really wounded in the manner described, and that he was not lying. Then, and then only, the authorities *allowed the people* to pay a bribe of ten pounds for the release of the wounded man.

The inhabitants of Krtaboz (a village in Bassen,) told me several horrible stories of what they had to endure lately from the Koords, who drove off their twenty-three oxen, twenty-eight horses, sixty cows, and twenty sheep. One which illustrates the method of *Turkish* justice will suffice to give the reader an inkling of their nature.

"Last May (1894) twelve mounted Hamidiehs attacked our village and seized our priest, Der David. They promised

to release him if he paid them six pounds. He borrowed the suni, gave it to his captors and was set free. The troops fired upon the other villagers, who ran away. Next day Guil Beg went to Hassankaleh to complain to the authorities. They abused him, called him a liar, and ordered him to be imprisoned. After having spent forty days in the horrible hole called a prison, he was permitted to pay a bribe of seven pounds and go home."

No Protection to Christians.

There is no redress whatever for a Christian who has suffered in property, limb, or life at the hands of Mohammedans; not because the law officers are careless or lethargic, but because they are specially retained on the other side. And the proof of this, if any proof were needed, is that the complainants themselves are speedily punished for lodging an information against their persecutors. But whenever a Koord or a Turk is the victim of a "crime," or even an accident, the energy of the Government officials knows no bounds. In the spring of last year, when the snows were thawing and the waters rose high in the rivers and streams, some needy Koords were moving along the bank of the river, hard by Hussnaker.

They were wretched beggars, asking alms, and battling with fate. In an attempt to ford the river they were carried away and drowned. Forthwith the villagers were accused of having murdered them, and four Armenian notables were arrested and imprisoned in Hassankaleh on this trumped-up charge, the real object of which was not disguised. After the lapse of seven or eight months the villagers were told that on payment of a bribe of \$375 the prisoners would be discharged. The money had to be scraped together and paid to the authorities, whereupon the men were released. I saw two of them, Atam and Dono, myself.

The taxes levied upon Armenians are exorbitant ; the bribes that invariably accompany them, and are imposed by the Zaptiehs, may swell to any proportions, and resume the most repugnant forms, while the methods employed to collect both constitute by themselves a sufficient justification for the sweeping away of Ottoman rule in Armenia.

To give a fair instance of the different rates of taxation for Christians and Mohammedans in towns, it will suffice to point out that in Erzeroum, where there are 8,000 Mohammedan houses, the Moslems pay only 395,000 piastres, while the Christians, whose houses number but 2,000, pay 430,000 piastres.

In the country districts, everything, with out exception, is highly taxed by the Government, and the heaviest burden of this legal exaction is light when compared with the extortion practiced by its agents, the Zaptiehs. A family, for instance, is supposed to contribute, say, twenty-five dollars, and fulfils its obligation. The Zaptiehs, however, ask for fifteen or twenty dollars more for themselves, and are met with a rash



MARBLE STAIRCASE IN THE SULTAN'S PALACE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

refusal. Negotiations, interlarded with violent and abusive language, ensue, and five dollars are accepted. But the Zaptiehs' blood is up.

In a week they return and demand the same taxes over again. The Armenians wax augry, protest and present their receipt; whereat the Zaptiehs laughingly explain that the document in question is no receipt but a few verses from a Turkish book. The villagers plead poverty and implore mercy. Greed, not compassion, moves the Zaptiehs to compromise the matter for fifteen dollars more, but the money is not forthcoming.

Then they demand the surrender of the young women and girls of the family to glut their brutal appetites, and refusal is punished with a series of tortures over which decency and humanity throw a veil of silence. Rape, and every kind of brutal outrage conceivable to the diseased mind of Oriental profligates, and incredible to the average European intelligence, varied perhaps with murder or arson, wind up the incident.

These are Facts.

I have seen and spoken with victims of these representatives of the Sublime Porte; I have inspected their wounds, questioned their families, interrogated their priests, their persecutors, and their gaolers (some of them being incarcerated for complaining), and I unhesitatingly affirm, not merely that these horrors are real facts, but that they are frequent occurrences.

The following is the translation of an authentic document in my possession, signed and sealed by the inhabitants of Melikan (Kaza of Keghi), addressed recently to his Beatitude, the learned and saintly Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum, a dignitary who enjoys the respect and esteem of friends and foes :

“For a long time past the four or five Zaptiehs charged with the collection of the imperial taxes have chosen our village for their headquarters, and compel the inhabitants of the outlying country to come hither to pay their contributions. They eat, drink, and feed their horses at our expense, undisguisedly showing that they are resolved to reduce us to beggary.

“Lately seven other Zaptiehs, who had not even the pretext of collecting the taxes, entered our village, beat the inhabitants, insulted the Christian religion, and dishonored our wives and daughters, after which they seized three men who protested—Boghos, Mardig, and Krikor—bound them with a twofold chain, and hung them up by the feet from the rafters. They left them in this position until the blood began to flow from their nostrils. These poor men fell ill in consequence. The Zaptiehs, however, declared publicly that they had treated the people thus merely in obedience to the special orders of the chief of the police.

“We therefore appeal to imperial justice to rescue us from this unbearable position. The inhabitants of the village of Melikan, Kaza of Keghi.

(Signed)

KATSHERE.

“26th March, 1895.”

Here is another petition from another village of the same Kaza, likewise addressed to the Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum :

“A number of Zaptiehs, on pretext of gathering the taxes, rode into our village at five o'clock Turkish time (about ten o'clock A.M.), broke open the doors of our dwellings, entered the inner apartments, clutched our wives and children, who were in a state of semi-nudity, and cast them into the road along with the couches on which they lay.

“Then they beat and maltreated them most cruelly. Finally they selected over thirty of our women, shut them up in a barn, and wrought their criminal will upon them. Before leaving they took all the food and fodder we possessed, as is

their invariable custom. We beg to draw your attention to these facts, and to implore the imperial clemency. The inhabitants of the village of Arek, Kaza of Keghi.

(Signed)

MOORADIAN, RESSIAN, BERGHOYAN, MELKONIAN.

"26th March, 1895."

I was present myself in the house of an Armenian peasant, of the Village of Kipri Kieu, when a number of mounted Zap-tichs arrived, woke up the inmates, and insolently demanded food for themselves, barley for their horses, and couches for the night. What more they would have called for I am not prepared to say; but I extricated my host from the difficulty by refusing them admittance on the ground that I had hired the house for the night. No wonder that the peasants of the District of Khnouss complain, in the petition which they asked me to lay before "the noble and humane people of England," "that the once prosperous and fertile country is now deserted, waste and desolate."

Armenians not the Aggressors.

These, then, are the horrors which are connoted by the phrase so flippantly uttered by certain enlightened English people: "These Armenians and Koords are eternally quarrelling, and a little bloodshed more or less would not seem seriously to affect the general average." It is true enough in the sense in which it is correct to say that sheep and wolves are perpetually at war with each other, and in this sense only.

The Armenians are naturally peaceful in all places, passionately devoted to agriculture in the country, and wholly absorbed by mercantile pursuits in the towns. Lest their in-born aversion to bloodshed, however, should be overcome by the impulse of duty, the instinct of self-defense, or deep-rooted affection for those near and dear to them, they are forbidden

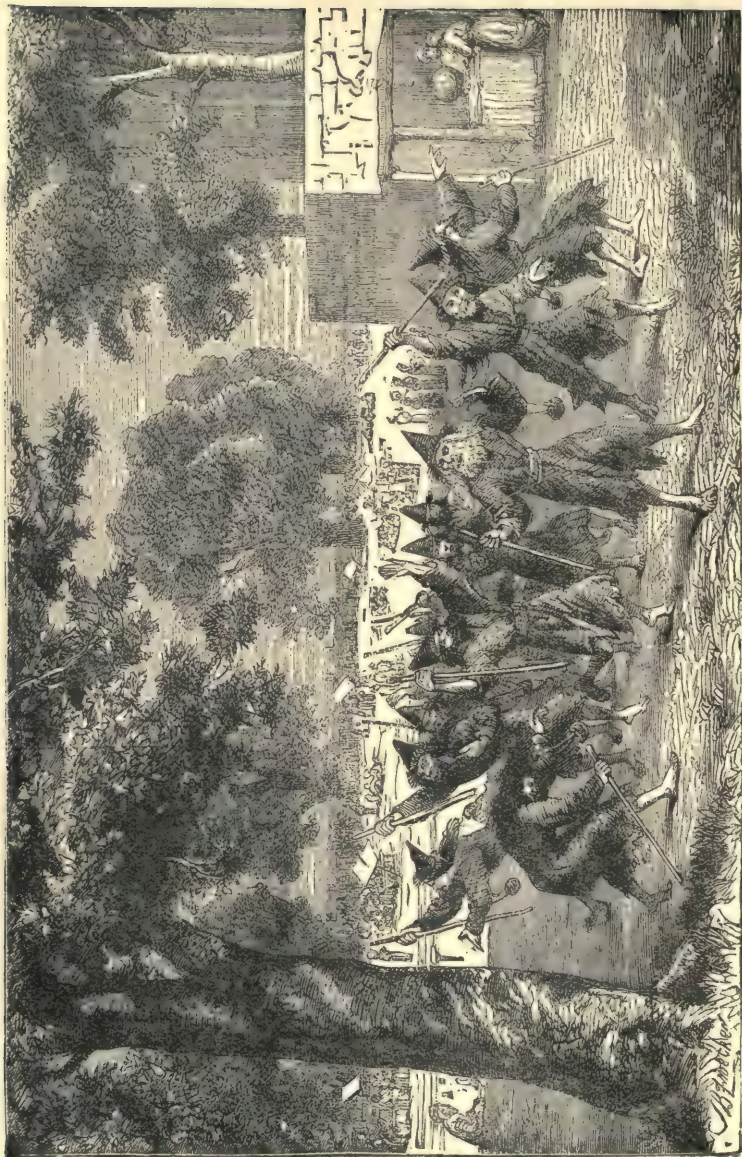
to possess arms, and the tortures that are inflicted on the few who disregard this law would bring a blush to the cheek of a countryman of Confucius. They must rely for protection exclusively upon the Turkish soldiers and the Turkish law. Khozro, a well-to-do inhabitant of Prkhooss, near Lake Nazig (District of Akhlat), was a lucky exception. True, he did not exactly possess a gun, but he was suspected of having one. His house was searched, the floor dug up, the roof examined, in vain. Then he was imprisoned for a month, and allowed to purchase his liberty by paying \$350 in gold, and signing a paper to the effect that he never had fire-arms of any kind.

The nature of the protection afforded by the Imperial troops was sufficiently clearly revealed last August and September on the slopes of Frfrkar and the heights of Andok, in the hamlets of Dalvorik, and in the valley of Ghellyegoozan. The villages of Odandjor, Hamzasheikh, Kakarloov Kharagyul, flourishing and prosperous in 1890-1891, did not contain one sheep, one buffalo, one horse in 1894.

Reduced to Ashes.

The stables were all tenantless, the stalls all empty, and the ashes of seventy enormous stacks of corn told the rest of the tale. This was the congenial work of the Koords, whose friends, the Turkish troops, were quartered, to the number of 200 horse soldiers in Yondjalee, half an hour distant from Odandjor, 200 in Kop, and 100 in Shekagoob. The protection which they afforded was given to the Koords, and the reward they received was a share in the spoils.

The protection given by Turkish law is of a like nature, only incomparably more disastrous to those Armenians who venture to have recourse to it. Two or three instances, vouched for by a host of witnesses, verified by foreign consuls, and authenticated by official documents, will throw light



GROTESQUE DANCE OF THE PIOUS DERVISHES.

enough for all practical purposes upon the strange forms assumed by Turkish justice in the provinces of Armenia.

Kevork Vartanian, of the village of Mankassar (Sandjak of Alashkerd), testified, among other things, as follows: "In 1892, a Koord, Andon by name, son of Kerevash (of the tribe of Tshalal), came with his comrades to my house and took five pounds in gold belonging to me, which I had saved up to buy seed corn with. I lodged a complaint against him, but the authorities dismissed me with contempt. Andon, hearing of my attempt to have him punished, came one night with twelve men, stood on our roof, and, looking down through the aperture, fired.

A Tale of Horror.

"My daughter-in-law, Yezeko, struck by a bullet, fell dead. Her two boys and my child Missak (two years old) likewise lost their lives then and there. Then the Koords entered the apartments and took my furniture, clothing, four oxen and four cows.* I hastened to the village of Karakilisse and complained to Rahim Pasha. Having heard my story, he said: 'The Hamadiehs Koords are the Sultan's warriors. To do thus is their right. You Armenians are liars.' *And we were imprisoned.* We did not obtain our release until we had paid two pounds in gold.

"The following winter two hundred soldiers entered our village under the leadership of Rahim Pasha himself. He at once told us that it was illegal to complain of the doings of the Koords. Then he quartered himself and his troops upon us, and demanded daily eight sheep, ten measures of barley, besides eggs, poultry and butter.

* Cows, horses, etc., are frequently lodged in the apartment in which the inmates live and sleep. I have passed many a restless night in a spacious room along with horses, buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats.

“Forty days running our village supplied these articles of food gratis, receiving curses and blows for our pains. Rahim Pasha, angry with his host, Parc, for grumbling, had a copper vessel hung over the fire, and, when heated, ordered it to be placed on Pare’s head. Then he had him stripped naked and little bits of flesh nipped out of his quivering arms with pincers.

“These ruffians had scarcely quitted our village when Aïpé Pasha with sixty horsemen took their places. Seeing that there were no more sheep to be had in the village, they slaughtered and ate our cows and oxen, and having inflicted much suffering upon us during six days, they too left. To whom could we address our complaints, seeing that the legally constituted authorities themselves perpetrated these things? Nothing was left for us but to quit the country, which we did.”

A Raid by Koords.

In the month of June, 1890, the village of Alidjikrek was the scene of a double crime. The Armenian shepherds who were tending the flocks of the villagers rushed in excitedly asking for help. “The Koords of Ibil Ogloo Ibrahim came up with their sheep and drove us out of the village pastures.” It was one of the commonplaces of village life in Turkish Armenia. Four young men set out to reason with the Moslems and assert the rights of property; but scarcely had they reached the ground, when the Koords opened fire and killed one of the youths, named Hossep, on the spot.

Another fell mortally wounded; his name, Haroothioon. Their comrades fled in horror to the village; the people, dismayed, abandoned their work; the parish priest and several of the principal inhabitants ran to the scene of the murder, others rode off to inform the gendarmes.

The Zaptiehs (gendarmes), accompanied by an official,

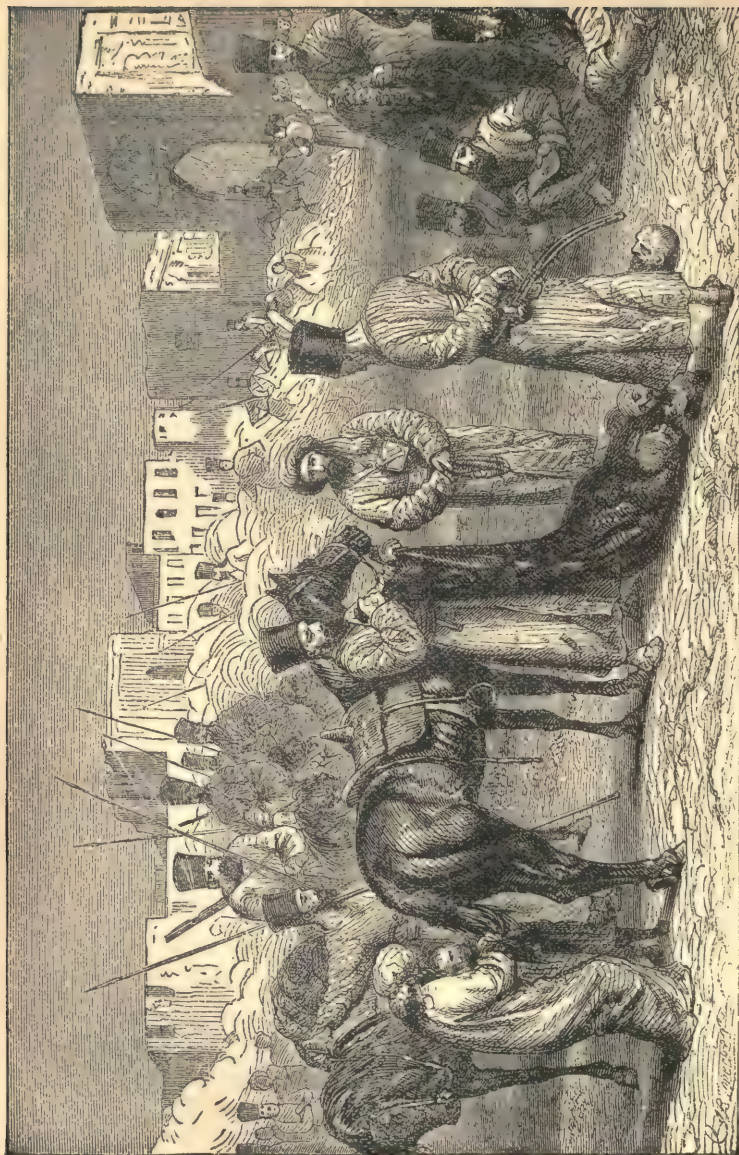
were soon on the spot. They found Hossep dead, and the parish priest, Der Ohannes, administering the last consolations of religion to the dying Haroothioon. They ordered the prayers to cease and menacingly asked, "Where are the Koordish murderers?" "They have fled," was the reply. "Indeed; probably you, dogs, have killed them, and buried them out of sight. You are all my prisoners." (Turning to the priest.) "You, too, come!" And they were all taken to Hassankaleh and thrown into the loathsome dungeon there. After a time they were transferred to the prison of Erzeroum.

Systematic Extortion.

The parish priest, Der Ohannes, was a well-to-do man. The process of systematic impoverishment was then only beginning. His brother, Garabed, and their ten comrades in misfortune, were likewise men of substance, and it seemed desirable to the officials that their property should change hands. They were left, therefore, to soak in the fetid vapors of a reeking Eastern prison-house.

The time dragged slowly on, day by day, week by week, and month by month, till they seemed to have been completely forgotten. Their families were in an endless agony of fear, their affairs were utterly neglected, their health was wholly undermined. In this pandemonium they passed a year—the most horrible period of their lives.

Then they humbly besought their persecutors to help them to their liberty and to name the price. The terms were agreed to, and they were advised to send Koords to hunt up traces of the Koordish murderers whom they were accused of having murdered in turn. "If they be found you will be set free." The cost of this advice and of the ways and means of carrying it out amounted to about \$2000, which the prisoners were compelled to borrow at 40 per cent. interest.



RECEIVING PAYMENT FOR HUMAN HEADS.

The search was of course successful, Koordish and Turkish assassins, when their victims are Christians, having no need to hide their persons, no motive to hang their heads. What they do is well done. These particular heroes were found enrolled in a battalion of his Majesty's favorite cavalry—the Hamidieh of Alashkerd. They confessed and did not deny ; a cloud of witnesses—Turks and Koords of course, Christians being disqualified—testified in court in favor of the twelve Armenian prisoners, who were then set at liberty, with ruined fortunes and broken health.

Murderers Escape.

The sentence of the court set forth that the Armenians, charged with the crime of having killed certain Koords who had assassinated two Armenian villagers, had proved their innocence, the Koords in question having been discovered living and well, serving the Commander of the Faithful in the Hamidieh Corps.

The Koordish murderers, about whose precious lives so much fuss was made, were left in peace, and they still continue to serve his Majesty the Sultan with the same zeal and contempt of consequences as before.

A dog will bark if another dog be shot in his presence. These Armenians did not even grumble ; they simply called in the representatives of Imperial law and justice, who proceeded to deal with them as with murderers. But Christians in Armenia dare not aspire to be treated with the consideration shown to obedient dogs by good-natured masters.

The stories told of these Koordish Hamidieh officers in general, and of one of them, named Mostigo, in particular, seemed so wildly improbable, that I was at great pains to verify them. Learning that this particular Fra Diavolo had been arrested and was carefully guarded as a dangerous

criminal in the prison of Erzeroum, where he would probably be hanged, I determined to obtain, if possible, an interview with him, and learn the truth from his own lips.

My first attempt ended in failure; Mostigo being a desperate murderer, who had once before escaped from jail, was subjected to special restrictions, and if I had carried out my original plan of visiting him in disguise, the probability is that I should not have returned alive. After about three weeks' tedious and roundabout negotiations, I succeeded in gaining the gaoler's ear, having first replenished his purse. I next won over the brigand himself, and the upshot of my endeavors was an arrangement that Mostigo was to be allowed to leave the prison secretly, and at night, to spend six hours in my room, and then to be re-conducted to his dungeon.

When the appointed day arrived the gaoler repudiated his part of the contract, on the ground that Mostigo, aware that his life was forfeited, would probably give the prison a wide berth if allowed to leave its precincts. After some further negotiations, however, I agreed to give two hostages for his return, one of them a brother Koord, whose life the brigand's notions of honor would not allow him to sacrifice for the chance of saving his own.

At last he came to me one evening, walking over the roofs, lest the police permanently stationed at my door should espy him. I kept him all night, showed him to two of the most respectable Europeans in Erzeroum, and, lest any doubt should be thrown on my story, had myself photographed with him next morning.

The tale unfolded by that Koordish noble constitutes a most admirable commentary upon Turkish *régime* in Armenia. This is not the place to give it in full. One or two short extracts must suffice.

Q. "Now, Mostigo, I desire to hear from your own lips,

and to write down, some of your wonderful deeds. I want to make them known to the 'hat-wearers.' " *

A. "Even so. Announce them to the Twelve Powers." †

There were evidently no misgivings about moral consequences; no fears of judicial punishment. And yet retribution was at hand; Mostigo was said to be doomed to death. Desirous of clearing up this point, I went on:

Q. "I am sorry to find that you are living in prison. Have you been long there?"

A. "I, too, am sorry. Five months; but it seems an age."

Q. "These Armenians are to blame, I suppose?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "You wiped out too many of them, carried off their women, burned their villages, and made it generally hot for them, I am told."

A. (Scornfully.) "That has nothing to do with my imprisonment. I shall not be punished for plundering Armenians. We all do that. I seldom killed, except when they resisted. But the Armenians betrayed me, and I was caught. That's what



TURKISH LADY.

*The Koords call all Europeans hat-wearers, and generally regard them with respect and awe.

† *I. e.*, to the whole universe.

I mean. But if I be hanged, it will be for attacking and robbing the Turkish post, and violating the wife of a Turkish Colonel who is now here in Erzeroum. But not for Armenians! Who are they that I should suffer for them?"

Boasting of Infamy.

After he had narrated several adventures of his, in the course of which he dishonored Christian women, killed Armenian villagers, robbed the post and escaped from prison, he went on to say:

"We did great deeds after that—deeds that would astonish the Twelve Powers to hear told. We attacked villages, killed people who would have killed us, gutted houses, taking money, carpets, sheep and women, and robbed travelers. . . . Daring and great were our deeds, and the mouths of men were full of them."

Having heard the story of many of these "great deeds," in some of which fifty persons met their death, I asked:

Q. "Do the Armenians ever offer you resistance when you take their cattle and their women?"

A. "Not often. They cannot. They have no arms, and they know that even if they could kill a few of us it would do them no good, for other Koords would come and take vengeance; but when we kill them no one's eyes grow large with rage. The Turks hate them, and we do not. We only want money and spoil, and some Koords also want their lands, but the Turks want their lives. A few months ago I attacked the Armenian village of Kara Kipriü, and drove off all the sheep in the place. I did not leave one behind.

"The villagers, in despair, did follow us that time and fire some shots at us, but it was nothing to speak of. We drove the sheep towards Erzeroum to sell them there. But on the

way we had a fight near the Armenian village of Sheme. The peasants knew we had lifted the sheep from their own people, and they attacked us. We were only five Koords, and they were many—the whole village was up against us. Two of my men—*rayahs** only—were killed. We killed fifteen Armenians. They succeeded in capturing forty of the sheep. The remainder we held and sold in Erzeroum."

Q. "Did you kill many Armenians generally?"

A. "Yes. We did not wish to do so. We only want booty, not lives. Lives are of no use to us. But we had to drive bullets through people at times to keep them quiet; that is, if they resisted."

Q. "Did you often use your daggers?"

A. "No; generally our rifles. We must live. In autumn we manage to get as much corn as we need for the winter, and money besides. We have cattle, but we take no care of it. *We give it to the Armenians to look after and feed.*"

Q. "But if they refuse?"

A. "Well, we burn their hay, their corn, their houses, and we drive off their sheep, so they do not refuse. We take back our cattle in spring, and the Armenians must return the same number that they received."

Q. "But if the cattle disease should carry them off?"

A. "That is the *Armenians'* affair. They must return us what we gave them, or an equal number. And they know it. We cannot bear the loss. Why should not they? Nearly all our sheep come from them."

After having listened to scores of stories of his expedi-

*The Koords are divided into *Torens* or nobles, who lead in war time, and possess and enjoy in peace; and *Rayahs*, who sacrifice their lives for their lords in all raids and feuds, and are wholly dependent on them at all times. A *rayah's* life may be taken by a *toren* with almost the same impunity as a Christian's.

tions, murders, rapes, etc., I again asked: "Can you tell me some more of your daring deeds, Mostigo, for the ears of the Twelve Powers?" to which I received this characteristic reply:



CASTLE ON THE BOSPHORUS.

"Once the wolf was asked: Tell us something about the sheep you devoured? and he said: I ate thousands of sheep, which of them are you talking about? Even so it is with my deeds. If I spoke and you wrote for two days, much would still remain untold."

This brigand is a Koord, and the name of the Koords is

legion. *Ex uno disce omnes.* (From one you may learn the character of all.) And yet the Koords have shown themselves to be the most humane of all the persecutors of the Armenians. Needing money, this man robbed; desirous of pleasure he dishonored women and girls; defending his booty, he killed men and women, and during it all he felt absolutely certain of impunity, so long as his victims were Armenians.

Is there no law then? one is tempted to ask. There is, and a very good law for that corner of the globe, were it only administered; for the moment he robbed the Imperial post and dishonored a Turkish woman, he was found worthy of death.

Promises are only a Mockery.

Laws, reforms and constitutions, therefore, were they drawn up by the wisest and most experienced legislators and statesmen of the world, will not be worth the paper they are written on so long as the Turks are allowed to administer them without control. The proof is contained in the life and acts of Turkish officials any time during the past fifty years.

Here, for example, is an honorable record of an energetic administrator, his Excellency Hussein Pasha, Brigadier-General of his Majesty the Sultan, which will bear the closest scrutiny. Commanding a gang of Koordish brigands, which could be increased to about 2,000 men, he continually harassed the peaceful inhabitants of the province, plundering, torturing, violating, killing, till his name alone sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of all.

The Armenians of Patnotz suffered so much from his depredations that they all quitted their village *en masse* and migrated to Karakilisse, where the Kaimakam resides; whereupon Hussein surrounded the house of the Bishop of Karakilisse with a large force and compelled him to send the people back.

Even the Mohammedans felt so shocked at his doings, that the Mussulman priest of Patnotz, Sheikh Nari, complained of him to the Vali (Governor-General) of Erzeroum. Hussein then sent his men, who murdered Sheikh Nari and frightened his daughter-in-law to death. In one expedition he carried off 2,600 sheep, many horses, kine, etc., took \$2,500, burnt nine villages, killed ten men, and cut off the right hands, noses and ears of eleven others.

Crimes Unpunished.

Early in the year 1890 he raped five Christian girls of Patnotz, and in September and October of the same year he levied a contribution of \$1,500 on the people of the same district. *For none of these crimes was he ever tried.* In December, 1890, he sent his brother to raise more money, which was done by raiding twenty-one villages of the Aintab District, the net result being \$1,750 and 200 *batmans* of butter (=3,000 lbs.). Hatsho, an Armenian of Patnotz, who could not, or would not, contribute a certain sum to his coffer, had his house raided in his absence, and his wife and two children killed.

All this time the gallant Hussein occupied the post and "discharged the duties" of a Mudir or Deputy Sub-Governor. One day he drove off 1,000 sheep and 7 yoke of buffaloes from Patnotz and Kizilkoh and sold them in Erzeroum to a merchant, after which he confiscated a fine horse belonging to Manook, an Armenian of Kizilkoh, and sent it as a present to the son of an Erzeroum judge. One night towards the end of February, 1891, Hussein, his nephew Rassoul, and others, entered the house of an Armenian, Kaspar, for the purpose of carrying off Kaspar's handsome daughter-in-law.

The inmates, however, shouted for help, whereupon Hussein, raising his revolver, shot the young woman dead. A

petition was presented asking that he be punished, but the Vali of Erzeroum declined to receive it, and Hussein was summoned to Constantinople, welcomed with cordiality, decorated by his Majesty, raised to the rank of Pasha, and appointed Brigadier-General. When the troops went to Moush and Sassoun in 1894, Hussein was one of the heroes, and when "order" was restored there, he returned to Patnotz with several young Sassounian girls whom he abducted, and he now lives happy and respected.

Conspirators in Crime.

No doubt there are missions which might be entrusted to a gentleman like Brigadier-General Hussein Pasha and men of his type. But is the government of a Christian people one of them? And if we assume that the then Vali of Erzeroum and the other administrators of the country were men of a much higher moral standard than he, of what avail were their noble character and admirable intentions, seeing that they allowed him to plunder, ravish, burn and kill unchecked? And is it reasonable to blame Hussein Pasha for deeds, after the perpetration of which, he was honored and promoted by the guardian of all law and order, the Commander of the Faithful?

Not all of the officials have the same tastes or the same degree of courage as his Excellency Hussein Pasha. There are others—many others no doubt—who, whatever their private proclivities may be, feel moved by their official sense of the fitness of things to cast about for a pretext for acts for which there could be no conceivable justification. And the follies which they commit in pursuit of this shadow would seem incredible were they not notorious. The following case has been inquired into and verified by the foreign representatives in Turkey :

In the spring of 1893 Hassib Pasha, the Governor of Moush, feeling the need of some proofs of the disaffection of the Armenians of Avzoot and the neighboring villages, despatched Police Captain Reshid Effendi thither to search for arms. Reshid set out, made careful inquiries and diligently searched in the houses, on the roofs, under the ground, but in vain. There were no firearms anywhere. He returned



SERAGLIO POINT—CONSTANTINOPLE.

and reported that the villagers had strictly observed the law forbidding them to possess weapons of any kind.

But Hassib Pasha waxed wroth. "How dare you assert what I know to be untrue?" he asked. "Go back this minute and find the arms. Don't dare return without them!" The Police Captain again rode off to Avzoot and searched every nook and corner with lamps, so to say, turning the houses inside out. But he found nothing. Then he summoned the village Elder and said: "I have been sent to discover the

hidden arms here. Tell me where they are." "But there are none." "There must be some." "I assure you, you are mistaken."

"Well, now listen. I have to find arms here, whether there are any or none, and I cannot return without them. Unless you deliver me some, I shall quarter myself and my men upon your village." This meant certainly plunder and probably rape. The Elder was dismayed. "What are we to do?" he asked. "We have no arms." "Go and get some then, steal them, buy them, but get them."

Cart-loads of Weapons.

Two or three persons were accordingly sent to the nearest Koordish village, where they purchased three cart-loads of old daggers, flintlock guns and rusty swords, which were duly handed over to Reshid. With these he returned to the Governor of Mouish exulting. Hasib Pasha, seeing the collection, rejoiced exceedingly and said: "You see now, I was right. I told you there were arms hidden away there. You did not seek for them properly at first. Be more diligent in future."

Verto Popakhian, an inhabitant of the village of Khalil Tshaush (Khnouss), narrated the following, the story of his troubles, which throws a curious sidelight on Turkish justice and Armenian peasant-life generally:

"A Koord named Djundee endeavored to carry off my niece, Nazo, but we took her to Erzeroum, and gave her in marriage to an Armenian. We often have to give our young girls in marriage when they are mere children, eleven to twelve years old, or else dress them up in boy's clothes, to preserve them undefiled. Nazo's husband was the son of the parish priest of Hertev. The Koords vowed vengeance upon me for saving the girl thus. Djundee beat my brother so seriously that he was ill in bed for nearly six months, and he

and his men drove off my cattle, burned our grain, threshing-floor and hay, and ruined us completely.

When the girl came home on a visit, Djundee and his Koords attacked the house, and carried her off. We complained to all the authorities in the place and in Erzeroum too. By the time they agreed to examine the girl publicly, she had borne a child to the Koord, and shame prevented her return. She remained a Mohammedan. We then bought a gun for our protection, the law forbidding firearms not existing yet. In 1893 we sold the gun to a Koord named Hadji Daho, but in 1894 the police came and demanded it. We said we had sold it, and the Koord bore out our assertion. He even showed it to them. But they arrested my brother and myself, and compelled us to give our two buffaloes in exchange for two guns, which they took away as incriminating proof of our guilt; and then they sent us to Erzeroum prison.

"We were kept here, suffering great hardships, for a long time. When eight months had passed away, my brother died of ill-treatment. Then they promised me my liberty in consideration of large bribes, which reduced me to absolute beggary. I had no choice. I gave them all they asked, leaving myself and family of nineteen persons completely destitute. *And then they condemned me to five years' imprisonment.*"

Justice Denied to Armenians.

Justice in all its aspects is rigorously denied to the Armenian. The mere fact that he dares to invoke it as plaintiff or prosecutor against a Koord or a Turk is always sufficient to metamorphose him into a defendant or a criminal, generally into both, whereupon he is invariably thrown into prison. In such cases the prison is intended to be no more than the half-way house between relative comfort and absolute misery, the inmates being destined to be stripped of all they possess and then turned adrift.

But what the prison really is cannot be made sufficiently clear in words. If the old English Star Chamber, the Spanish

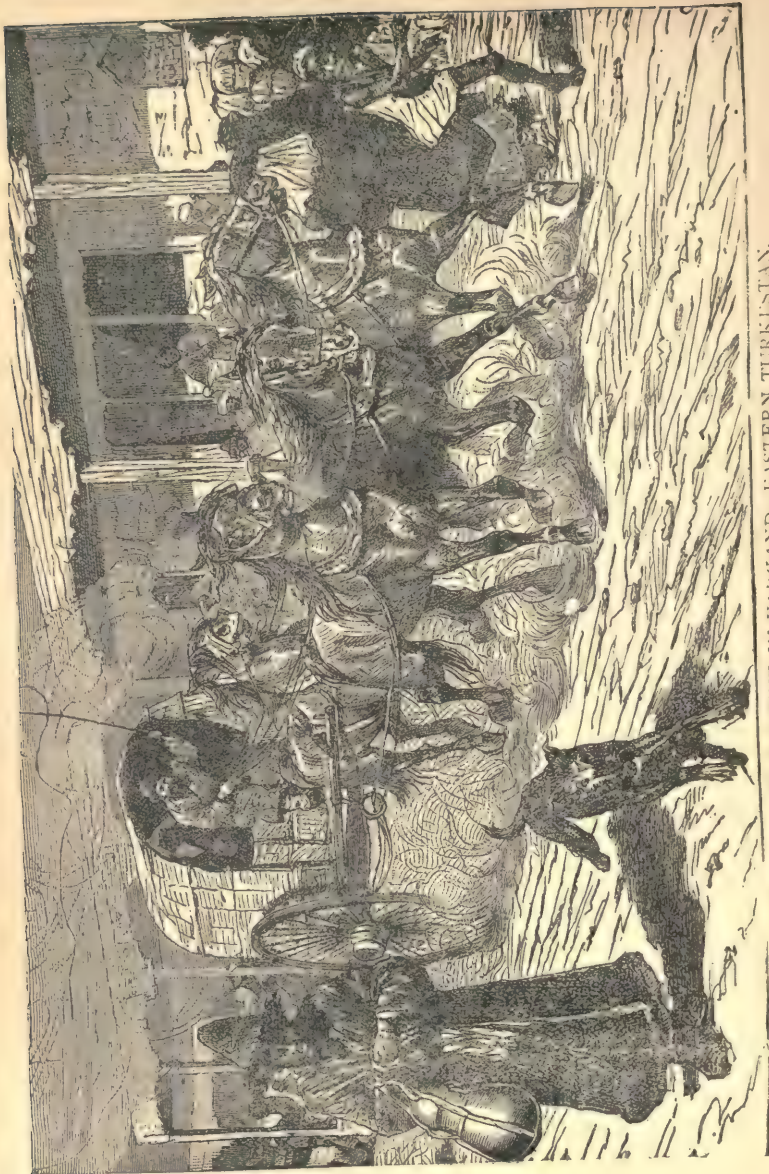
Inquisition, a Chinese opium den, the ward of a yellow-fever hospital, and a nook in the lowest depths of Dante's Hell be conceived as blended and merged into one, the resulting picture will somewhat resemble a bad Turkish prison. Filth, stench, disease, deformity, pain in forms and degrees inconceivable in Europe, constitute the physical characteristics: the psychological include the blank despair that is final, fiendish, fierce malignity, hellish delight in human suffering, stoic self-sacrifice in the cultivation of loathsome vices, stark madness raging in the moral nature only—the whole incarnated in grotesque beings whose resemblance to man is a living blasphemy against the Deity.

A Nightmare of Horrors.

In these noisome dungeons, cries of exquisite suffering and shouts of unnatural delight continually commingle; ribald songs are sung to the accompaniment of heart-rending groans; meanwhile the breath is passing away from bodies which had long before been soulless, and are unwept save by the clammy walls whereon the vapor of unimagined agonies and foul disease condenses into big drops and runs down in dribblets to the reeking ground. Truly it is a horrid nightmare quickened into life.

Last March I despatched a friend of mine to visit the political prisoners in the Bitlis penitentiary, and to ask them to give me a succinct account of their condition. Four of them replied in a joint letter, which is certainly the most gruesome piece of reading I have beheld ever since I first perused a description of the Black Hole. Only the least sensational passages can be stripped of the decent disguise of a foreign language and exposed to the light of day.

It is dated "Bitlis Prison, Hell, March 28 (April 9th), 1895," and begins thus:



LIVELY STREET SCENE IN YARKAND—EASTERN TURKISTAN.

"In Bitlis Prison there are seven cells, each one capable of containing from ten to twelve persons. The number they actually contain is from twenty to thirty. *There are no sanitary arrangements whatever.* Offal, vermin, and the filth that should find a special place elsewhere are heaped together in the same cell. . . . The water is undrinkable. Frequently the Armenian prisoners are forced to drink 'Khwlitsh' water—*i.e.*, water from the tank in which the Mohammedans perform their ablutions. . . ."

Then follows a brief but suggestive account of the treatment endured by the writer's comrades, many of whom died from the effects. For example: "Malkhass Aghadjanian and Serop Malkhassian of Avzoot (Moush) were beaten till they lost consciousness. The former was branded in eight places, the latter in twelve places, with a hot iron." The further outrage which was committed upon Serop must be nameless. "Hagop Seropian, of the village of Avzoot, was stripped and beaten till he lost consciousness; then a girdle was thrown round his neck, and having been dragged into the Zaptieh's room, he was branded in sixteen parts of his body with red-hot ram-rods."

Nameless Outrages.

Having described other sufferings to which he was subjected, such as the plucking out of his hair, standing motionless in one place without food or drink till nature could hold out no longer, the writer goes on to mention outrages for which the English tongue has no name, and civilized people no ears. Then he continues:

"Sirko Minassian, Garabed Malkhassian, and Isro Ard-vadzadoorian of the same village, having been violently beaten, were forced to remain in a standing position for a long time, and then had the contents of certain vessels poured upon their heads. Korki Mardoyan, of the village of Semol, was violently beaten; his hair was plucked out by the roots,

and he was forced to stand motionless for twenty-four hours. Then Moolazim Hadji Ali and the gaoler, Abdoolkadir, forced him to perform the so-called *Sheitantopy*,* which resulted in his death. He was forty-five years of age.

"Mekhitar Saforian and Khatsho Baloyan of Kakarloo (Boolanyk) were subjected to the same treatment. Mekhitar was but fifteen and Khatsho only thirteen years old. Sogho Sharoyan, of Alvarindj (Moush), was conveyed from Moush to Bitlis prison handcuffed. Here he was cruelly beaten, and forced to maintain a standing position without food.

"Whenever he fainted they revived him with douches of cold water and stripes. They also plucked out his hair, and burned his body with red-hot irons. Then . . . (They subjected him to treatment which cannot be described.) . . . Hambartzoon Boyadjian, after his arrest, was exposed to the scorching heat of the sun for three days. Then he was taken to Semal, where he and his companions were beaten and shut up in a church. They were not only not allowed to leave the church to relieve the wants of nature, but were forced to defile the baptismal fonts and the church altar. . . . Where are you, Christian Europe and America?"

The four signatures at the foot of this letter include that of a highly-respected and God-fearing ecclesiastic.

Prison Tortures.

I am personally acquainted with scores of people who have passed through these prison mills. The stories they narrate of their experience there are gruesome, and would be hard to believe were they not amply confirmed by the still more eerie tales told by their broken spirits, their wasted bodies, and the deep scars and monstrous deformities that will abide with them till the grave or the vultures devour them.

*Literally "Devil's ring." The hands are tightly bound together, and the feet, tied together by the great toes, are forced up over the hands. The remainder of the *Sheitantopy* consists of a severe torture and a beastly crime.

There is something so forbiddingly fantastic and wildly grotesque in the tortures and outrages invented by their gaolers or their local governors that a simple, unvarnished account of them sounds like the ravings of a diseased devil. But this is a subject upon which it is impossible to be explicit.

Turkish Dungeons.

The manner in which men qualify for the Turkish prison in Armenia can be easily deduced from what has already been said. The possession of money, cattle, corn, land, a wife or daughter, or enemies, is enough. We are shocked to read of the cruelty of brutal Koords, who ride to a village, attack the houses, drive off the sheep, seize all the portable property, dishonor the women, and return leisurely home, conscious of having done a good day's work. We call it a disgrace to civilization, and perhaps the qualification is correct.

But bad as it sounds, it is a mercy compared with the *Turkish* methods, which rely upon the machinery of the law and the horrors of the prison. A man whom poverty, nay, hunger, prevents from paying imaginary arrears of taxes, who declines to give up his cow or his buffalo as backsheesh to the Zaptiehs, who beseeches them to spare the honor of his wife or his daughter, is thrown into one of these dungeons, which he never leaves until he has been branded with the indelible stigma of the place. But let us take one of the usual and by no means most revolting cases of arrest and imprisonment as an illustration.

A young man from the village of Avzood (Moush District) went to Russia in search of work, and found it. He also married, and lived there for several years. Towards the close of 1892 he came back to his native village, and the police, informed that "an Armenian who has lived in Russia is returned," despatched four of their number under the orders of



DEADLY ENCOUNTER BETWEEN TURKOMAN BANDITS.

Isaag Tshaush to Avzood. They arrived two hours after sundown, and, while three of them guarded the house where the young man was staying, the leader entered. Shots were heard immediately after, and the young Armenian and Isaag lay dead.

False Evidence.

The authorities in Bitlis then sent a Colonel of the Zaptiehs to Avzood to see "justice" done. And it was done very speedily. The Colonel summoned the men of the village—none of whom were mixed up in the matter—and put them in prison. Then the officials deflowered all the girls, and dishonored all the young women in Avzood, after which they liberated the men, except about twenty, whom they conveyed to the jail of Bitlis. A few of these died there, and ten others were soon afterwards dismissed. Finally they decided to charge a young teacher, Markar, of the village of Vartenis, with the murder of Isaag Tshaush, and as there was no evidence against him, the other prisoners were ordered to testify.

Armenians have the reputation of being liars, but they certainly draw the line at swearing away an innocent man's life; and they refused in this case to commit the double crime of perjury and murder. Strenuous efforts were made to determine them; they were stripped naked, burned in various parts of the body with red-hot irons, till they yelled with pain. Then they were prevented from sleeping for several nights, and tortured acutely again, till, writhing and quivering, they promised to swear anything, everything, if once relieved from their agony.

A document declaring that Markar was in the village when Isaag Tshaush arrived there, and that he had shot Isaag in their presence, was drawn up in their names. To this they duly affixed their seals. Meanwhile Markar himself was being tortured in another part of the prison.

When the trial came on and the incriminating document was read, the signatories stripped themselves in court, exhibited the ugly marks left by the red-hot irons, and called God to witness that that evidence of theirs, wrung from them by maddening torture, was a lie.

Markar, on the other hand, declared that he was not in Avzood village at all on the night in question. But these statements were unavailing; he was hanged last year, and the "witnesses" condemned to various terms in fortified towns. Some of the women dishonored by the Zaptiehs died from the effects of the treatment to which they were subjected.

Shrewd Method for Making Money.

The jailors grow rich on the money they wring from the inmates of the cells. The prison-keeper of Bitlis Prison, Abdoolkader, a wretch who, God having presumably made him, may be called a man, earns enormous sums this way. He lately spent \$2,500 on his house, and two or three Turkish merchants are said to be doing business on his capital, although his salary is only about 50s. a month. These sums are received as bribes, not for any positive return made to the prisoners, but for mere relief from torture employed solely for this purpose.

The following case may give some idea of the nature of the relief thus highly paid for: Some five months ago three men of the village of Krtabaz were arrested and imprisoned. The fact that they were released without trial ten weeks later is evidence enough of their innocence of crime. They were taken to the prison of Hassankaleh. The room in which they were confined was overcrowded.

The term overcrowding does not denote the same thing in Armenia as in European prisons. *They had no room to lie down at all.* Some Koordish prisoners confined in the same

dismal den, who enjoyed special privileges, had but two and a half feet space to sleep in. In one corner of the dungeon a hole in the wall represented the prison-equivalent for sanitation, and these three Armenians were told that they must stand up by this hole, and might lean against the wall to sleep. *This they did for fifteen consecutive nights.* The stench, the filth, the vermin exceed all conception.

After the lapse of fifteen days, by dint of starving themselves, they were enabled to give part of their food to some of the Koords, one of whom allowed the Armenians to take his place in turn during the day. This was not much, for the Koords themselves had only sitting space, about two and a half feet long; still it did afford relief. But the Koord was severely punished for this benevolence or enterprise. His rations of bread were cut off, and he was put in irons for several days.

In Constant Danger.

The men he thus befriended, who now aver they owe their lives to him, were notables of their village, and innocent persons to boot, who were released some weeks later because "they had done no wrong."

It is no easy thing for an Armenian man to cross the frontier and enter Russia, if he possess a gold or silver coin or an article of clothing; nor for a woman to leave the country without first undergoing indignities, the mere mention of which should make a man's blood boil with shame and indignation. "Oh, but these things are not felt so acutely by Armenians as they would be by Europeans," said an English lady to me a few days ago: "the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb, don't you know?" It may be so; but I have seen and conversed with hundreds and hundreds of Armenian women lately, and I found no signs of the tempering process.

Whatever vices or virtues may be predicated of Armenian women, chastity must be numbered among their essential characteristics. They carry it to an incredible extreme. In many places an Armenian woman never even speaks to any man but her husband, unless the latter is present. Even to her nearest and dearest male relatives and connections she has nothing to say; and her purity, in the slums of Erzeroum as in the valleys of Sassoun, is above suspicion.

Driven over the Frontier.

Yet these are the people who are being continually outraged by brutal Koords and beastly Turks, oftentimes until death releases them. But the difficulty of emigrating from Turkey, with money, clothing, or women, will be best understood in the light of a few concrete examples. Not that the Turks object to their leaving. On the contrary—and this is the most conclusive proof of the existence of the Plan of Extinction—they actually drive them over the frontier, and then persistently refuse to allow them to return.

Sahag Garoyan, questioned as to the reasons why he and his family of ten persons emigrated from his village of Kheter (Sandjak of Bayazid), deposed as follows :

“We could not remain because we were treated as beasts of burden by Rezekam Bey, son of Djaffer Agha, and his men, who belong to his Majesty's Hamidieh corps, and can therefore neither be punished nor complained of. I emigrated towards the end of last year. Rezekam had come with his followers, as if it were war-time, and taken possession of the houses of the Armenians, driving the occupants away.

“Only seven families were allowed to stay on. The others, having no place to go to, took refuge in the church. We had to feed the Koords for three months, giving them our corn, sheep, etc., and keeping their cattle in fodder. We had to serve some of them as beasts of burden.* Rezekam him-

* This is no uncommon thing in Armenia.



DERVISHES AT PRAYER.

self paid a weekly visit to the village of Karakilisse, and levied a contribution of \$50 Turkish on the inhabitants, besides hay, barley, etc., for his men.

"At last, unable to bear this burden any longer, we addressed a complaint to the authorities. They told us to be gone. Then a Koord, named Ghazas Teamer, ordered us to sign a document setting forth that we were prosperous and happy. This was to be sent to Constantinople, as he wished to be appointed Yoozbashi of the Hamidiehs. No one signed the paper, whereat Teamer grew angry, and killed Avaki and his brother. Five months later he killed Minass, son of Kre, of the village of Mankassar. When the winter came on last year, Rezekam Bey imprisoned our neighbor Sarkiss, son of Sahag, had his head plunged in cold water and dried; after that it was steeped in petroleum and his hair burned off.

"Then he endeavored to violate Sara, Sarkiss' sister, but she was smuggled away in time. Rezekam's servant, Kheto, dishonored Moorad's wife; and a few days later entered the house of Abraham, an inhabitant of the same village, commanding him to go and work for Rezekam Bey. Abraham's wife, who was about to become a mother, begged that he might be allowed to stay at home; but Kheto kicked her in the stomach, and she was delivered of a dead child an hour or so after. Oh, we could not live there—not if we were beasts, instead of Christians."

A Common Story.

Mgirdeetch Mekhoyan, aged thirty-five, of the village of Koopegheran (Sandjak of Bayazid), deposed: "I emigrated in 1894 because Aipa Pasha came with forty Koordish families, demolished our church, and took everything we had." The same story, with variations, comes from every Sandjak, almost from every village of the five Armenian provinces. Bedross Kozdyan, aged fifty-five, of the village of Arog (Sandjak of Van), testified:

"I left my village and my country with my family in August, last year (1894), because we were driven away by

the Koords under Kri, son of Tshalo, who was abetted by the Turkish authorities. He first came and violated three girls and three young married women, whom he took away in spite of their cries and prayers. Three Armenians tried to protect the wretched women, who implored them not to let them go.

"But the Koords killed the three on the spot. Their names were Sarkiss, Khatsho and Keveark. Next day he and his men drove off the sheep of the villagers. We complained to the Governor of Van, but he said he could not move in the matter. Ten days later the Koords came again, and carried away our wheat, barley, and live stock, and burned the hay which they could not transport. Then they knocked down the altar of our church, hoping to find gold and silver hidden away there. We again besought the authorities to protect us, but they replied, 'We'll slaughter you like sheep if you dare to come again with your complaints against good Mohammedans.'

"Then we took what we could with us and set out for Russia. When we reached Sinak six armed Koords attacked us, robbed us of everything we had, and sent us over the frontier with nothing but our clothes."

Processions to the Churchyard.

The Plan of Extermination is obviously working smoothly and well. The Christian population is decimated, villages are changing hands almost as quickly as the scenes shift in a comic opera, and the exodus to Russia and the processions to the churchyard are increasing. This is not the place to give a list of *islamized* villages, but a typical case may help to convey an idea of the process that is going on even now.

In the province of Alashkerd, which borders upon Russia, there are five villages to the east of Karakilisse, named respectively, Khedr (or Kheter), Mangassar, Djoodjan, Ziro and Koopkheran. These villages Eyoob Pasha sent his sons to occupy. Koords of the Zilanlee tribe, they are all officers



TURKISH ENCAMPMENT IN ASIA.

in the Hamidieh corps. General Eyoob has three sons, Rezgo Bey, Khalid Bey and Yoossoof Bey, and these gallant officers with their followers set out last spring and took the villages for themselves.

There were about 400 Armenian houses there at the time, or, say roughly, some 3,000 Christian inhabitants. There is not one there to-day. Only one individual, named Avedis Agha, has remained, and even he lives not in one of the four villages, but in Yoondjaloo. He was a wealthy man when the Koords arrived; he is indigent now. The Armenians were completely driven out in the course of a few months by methods which may be termed somewhat drastic.

Killed for Disobedience.

For example: one day the Koords met Markar, son of Ghoogo, in the fields carrying home his corn. They demanded his *araba* (cart). He replied that it was engaged now, as they could see for themselves, but that he would give it later on. They killed him on the spot for disobedience, and threw his body on the cart. Thirty villagers went with their children to complain to the Kaimakam in Karakilisse. The Kaimakam caused them to remain waiting in the open air for eleven days before he would hear them. And having heard them, he told them to go—to Russia.

In the Vilayet of Bitlis (Kaza of Boolanyk and Sandjak of Moush) there is a village named Kadjlloo, which, being interpreted, means "Village of the Cross." It is a village of the Crescent now. The means by which the sudden change was effected are identical in character with those already described. Mohammed Emin led a number of Koords (outcasts from the Djibranlee and Hassnanlee tribes) against the village, took it, so to say, by storm, and, to use their own picturesque expression, "sat down in it."

Happily it is situated only five miles distant from the seat of the Turkish Deputy-Governor, but, unhappily for the people, he refused to move a finger, and they were all driven off like sheep. Perhaps this is one of the cases in which the wind is tempered to the shorn sheep?

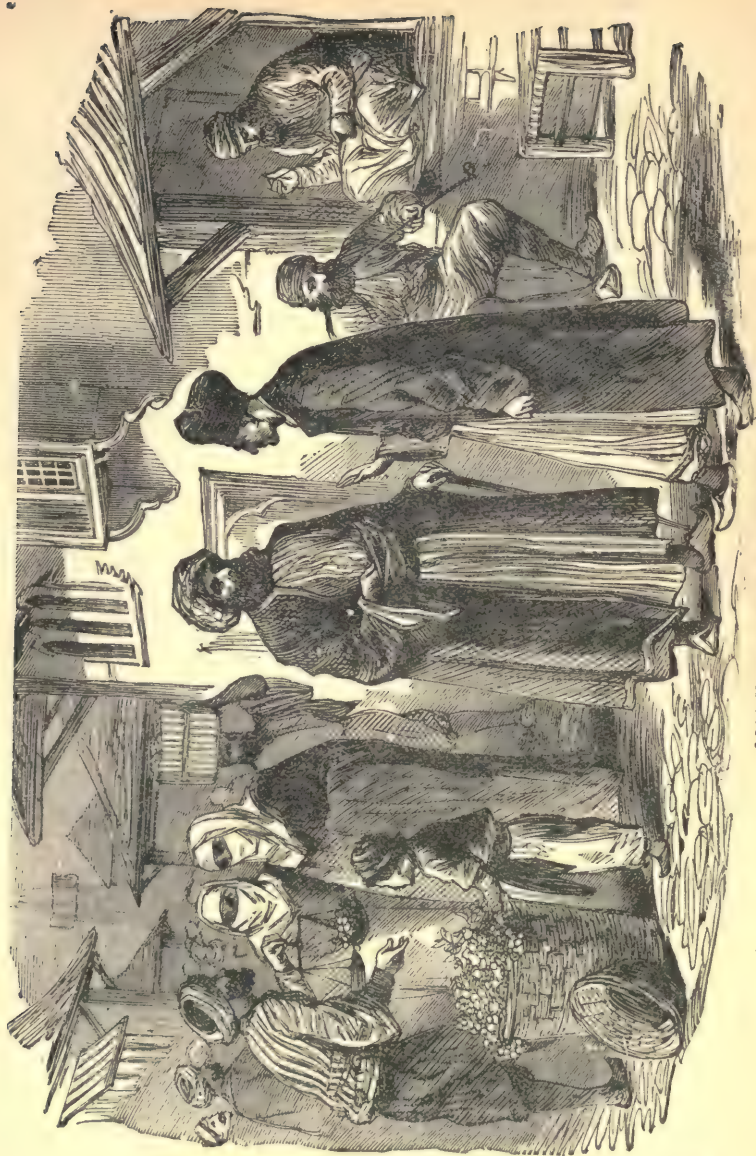
Villages Raided and Despoiled.

Then the conquerors set about raiding the neighboring villages, and in particular Piran, which is about a mile further off. These would likewise have changed hands had it not been for a bright idea of one of the chief villagers, at whose suggestion a Koord named Assad Agha was invited to come and quarter his men in Piran, *accepting for himself twenty corn-fields, ten meadows*, and a spacious two-story house, which was built expressly for him by an architect from Bitlis, in return for which he undertook to protect the Armenians from Mohammed Emin and his merry men.

Three hundred and six of the principal inhabitants of the District of Khnouss gave me a signed petition when I was leaving Armenia, and requested me to lay it before "the humane and noble people of England." In this document they truly say:

"We now solemnly assure you that the butchery of Sassoun is but a drop in the ocean of Armenian blood shed gradually and silently all over the Empire since the late Turko-Russian war. Year by year, month by month, day by day, innocent men, women and children have been shot down, stabbed, or clubbed to death in their houses and their fields, tortured in strange, fiendish ways in fetid prison-cells, or left to rot in exile under the scorching sun of Arabia.

"During the progress of that long and horrible tragedy no voice was raised for mercy, no hand extended to help us. That process is still going on, but it has already entered upon its final phases, and the Armenian people are at the last gasp.



MARKET SCENE IN TURKEY.

Is European sympathy destined to take the form of a cross upon our graves?"

I have also received two touching appeals from the women of Armenia, sealed with their seals, and addressed to their sisters of England. What *they* ask is indeed little—that they be protected from dishonor. And, until the General Elections gave us a strong Government, which knows its own mind, it seemed as if these women were asking for the moon.

On November 7th last, a Turk of the city of Bayazid asked Avedis Krmoyan to pay a little debt. The Armenian, not having the money at the time, besought his creditor to wait a few weeks. The Turk refused, and insisted on taking Krmoyan's wife as a pledge that the money would be paid. Entreaties and tears were unavailing; the woman was carried off, and then forced to become a Moslem. She can never return to her husband again.

Story of an Unfortunate Girl.

In the village of Khosso Veran (Bassen) a girl named Selvy was seized by a Turk as security for a debt contracted by her father. The creditor kept her three months and dishonored her; nor would he consent to set her free until Giragoss Ohannissean went bail for her. As the debt, however, is unpaid, the Turk has a mortgage on her still. This sort of thing cannot be said to be uncommon, for although I knew but three cases of it from personal knowledge, I heard of more than a score in different parts of Armenia.

It is not only absolutely useless, but often positively dangerous, to complain to the officials, who, from high to low, take an active part in this Oriental "sport" themselves. The Kiateebs of Alai entered the house of Ohannes Goolykian (village of Karatshoban in Khnouss) in the broad daylight, and

raped the daughter of Ohannes, who was fifteen years old, and then sent her off to Trebizond. Her father complained, besought the authorities to restore her, and it is only fair to say that, so far as I know, he was not punished for his temerity.

A Shameless Demand.

The Deputy-Governor of Arabghir actually arrested and expelled a number of the men of the town whose wives were considered to be among the most handsome women in Armenia. He next approached the latter, but was received with the scorn he deserved. Then these women shut themselves up in their houses, refusing to allow him or his men to enter, whereupon he told them publicly and shamelessly, that if they wished their husbands to return, they must yield to his desires.

The following case is one in which I took a very lively interest, because I am well acquainted with the victim and her family. Her name is Lucine Mussegh, her native village Khnoossaber. Born in 1878, Lucine was sent at an early age to the American Missionary School at Erzeroum, where she was taught the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, her father, Aghadjan Kemalian, having always manifested a strong sympathy for Protestantism. Armenian girls are in chronic danger of being raped by Turks and Koords, and Armenian parents are continually scheming for the purpose of shielding them from this calamity which, as we have seen, occasionally results in death.

The means usually employed are very early marriages or attempts to pass off the girls as boys. In the village of Ishkhoe, for instance, the daughter of Tepan Agha was brought up as a boy. She was arrested and imprisoned in Erzeroum, for this, too, is a crime. I have known children to be taken from school, married, allowed to live a few

months with their husbands or wives, and then sent back to school again. This is what happened to Lucine, who, taken from school at the age of fourteen, was wedded to a boy of her own age, Milikean by name, and having lived some time with him under his father's roof, was sent to the Protestant school once more.

One night, during her husband's absence from home, she was seized by some men, dragged by the hair, gagged, and taken to the house of Hussni Bey. *This man is the son of the Deputy-Governor of the place.* He dishonored the young woman, and sent her home next day, but her husband refused to receive her any more, and she is now friendless and alone in the world.

Wholesale Butchery.

The massacre of Sassoun sends a shudder to the hearts of the most callous. But that butchery was a divine mercy compared with the hellish deeds that are being done every week and every day of the year. The piteous moans of famishing children; the groans of old men who have lived to see what can never be embodied in words; the piercing cries of violated maidenhood, nay, of tender childhood; the shrieks of mothers made childless by crimes compared with which murder would be a blessing; the screams, scarcely human, of women writhing under the lash; and all the vain voices of blood and agony that die away in that dreary desert without having found a responsive echo on earth or in heaven, combine to throw Sassoun and all its horrors into the shade.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Gladstone on the Armenian Question.

A MEETING was held in the Town Hall, Chester, England, on the 6th of August, 1895, for the purpose of discussing the claims of the Armenians in Turkey. The assembly room at the Town Hall was crowded to excess, and many thousands of persons had to be refused admission.

The Duke of Westminster presided, and among those present were a great number of members of Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone, who was received with prolonged cheers, said:—My Lord Duke, my Lords, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first observation shall be a repetition of what has already been said by the noble Duke, who has assured you that this meeting is not a meeting called in the interests of any party (hear, hear), or having the smallest connection with those differences of opinion which naturally and warrantably in this free country will spring up in a complex state of affairs, dividing us on certain questions man from man. (Hear, hear.)

But, my Lord Duke, it is satisfactory to observe that freedom of opinion and even these divisions themselves upon certain questions give increased weight and augmented emphasis to the concurrence of the people to the cordial agreement of the whole nation in these matters where the broad principles of common humanity and common justice prevail. (Cheers.)

A Question of Humanity.

It is perfectly true that the Government whose deeds we have to impeach is a Mahometan Government, and it is perfectly true that the sufferers under those outrages, under those afflictions, are Christian sufferers. The Mahometan subjects of Turkey suffer a great deal, but what they suffer is only in the way of the ordinary excesses and defects of an intolerably bad Government—perhaps the worst on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) That which we have now to do is, I am sorry to say, the opening up of an entirely new chapter. It is not a question of indifferent laws indifferently enforced. It is not a question of administrative violence and administrative abuse. It cuts further and goes to the root of all that concerns human life in its elementary conditions.

But this I will say, that if, instead of dealing with the Turkish Government, and impeaching it for its misdeeds towards Christian subjects, we were dealing with a Christian Government that was capable of similar misdeeds towards Mahometan subjects, our indignation ought to be not less, but greater, than it is now. (Cheers.) Well, I will take the liberty of reading a resolution which has been placed in my hands, and which seems to me to express with firmness, but with moderation, the opinions which I am very confident this meeting will entertain, and this meeting, in entertaining such opinions, is but the representative of the country at large. (Cheers.)

American Sympathy for Armenia.

Allow me to go further and to say that the country at large in entertaining these ideas is only a representative of civilized humanity, and I will presume to speak on the ground, in part, of personal knowledge; I will presume to speak of the opinions and sympathies that are entertained in that part which is most

remote from Armenia—I mean among our own Transatlantic brethren of the United States. If possible, the sentiment in America entertained on the subject of these recent occurrences is even more vivid and even stronger, if it can be, than that which beats in the hearts of the people of this country.

The Resolution.

The terms of the resolution are as follows :

“ That this meeting expresses its conviction that her Majesty’s Government will have the cordial support of the entire nation, without distinction of party, in any measures which it may adopt for securing to the people of Turkish Armenia such reforms in the administration of that province as shall provide effective guarantees for the safety of life, honor, religion, and property, and that no reforms can be effective which are not placed under the continuous control of the Great Powers of Europe.” (Cheers.)

That means, without doubt, the great Powers of Europe, all who choose to combine, and those great Powers which happily have combined and have already, in my judgment, pledged their honor, as well as their power, to the attainment of the object we have in view. (Cheers.)

The Atrocities Proved.

Now, it was my fate, I think some six or more months ago, to address a very limited number, not a public assembly, but a limited number of Armenian gentlemen, and gentlemen interested in Armenia, on this subject ; and at that time I ventured to point out that one of our duties was to avoid premature judgments.

There was no authoritative and impartial declaration before the world at that period on the subject of what is known as the Sassoun massacre ; that massacre to which the noble duke has alluded, and with respect to which, horrible as that mas-

sacre was, one of the most important witnesses in this case declares that it is thrown into the shade, and has become pale and ineffective by the side of the unspeakable horrors which are being enacted from month to month, from week to week, and day to day, in the different provinces of Armenia. (Cheers.)

It was a duty to avoid premature judgment, and I think it was avoided. There was a great reserve; but at last the engine of dispassionate inquiry was brought to bear, and then it was found that another duty, very important in general in these cases, really in this particular instance had no particular place at all, and though it is a duty to avoid exaggeration—a most sacred duty—it is a duty that has little or no place in the case before us, because it is too well known that the powers of language hardly suffice to describe what has been and is being done, and that exaggeration, if we were ever so much disposed to it, is in such a case really beyond our power. (Cheers.)

Those are dreadful words to speak. It is a painful office to perform, and nothing but a strong sense of duty could gather us together between these walls or could induce a man of my age, and a man who is not wholly without other difficulties to contend with, to resign for the moment that repose and quietude which are the last of many great earthly blessings remaining to him, in order to invite you to enter into a consideration of this question—I will not say in order to invite you to allow yourselves to be flooded with the sickening details that it involves.

I shall not attempt to lead you into that dreadful field, but I make this appeal to you. I do hope that every one of you will for himself and herself endeavor, in such a degree as your position may allow of you to endeavor, to acquire some acquaintance with them (hear, hear), because I know that, when I say that a case of this kind puts exaggeration out of

the question, I am making a very broad assertion, which would in most cases be violent, which would in all ordinary cases be unwarrantable.

But those who will go through the process I have described, or even a limited portion of the process, will find that the words are not too strong for the occasion. (Cheers.) What witnesses ought we to call before us? I should be disposed to say that it matters very little what witnesses you call. So far as the character of the testimony you will receive is concerned, the witnesses are all agreed. At the time that I have just spoken of, six or eight months ago, they were private witnesses.

Since that time, although we have not seen the detailed documents of public authority, yet we know that all the broader statements which had been made up to that time and which have made the blood of this nation run cold have been confirmed and verified. They have not been overstated, not withdrawn, not qualified, not reduced, but confirmed in all their breadth, in all their horrible substance, in all their sickening details. (Hear, hear.)

American Witnesses.

And here I may say that it is not merely European witnesses with whom we have to deal. We have American witnesses also in the field, and the testimony of the American witnesses is the same as that of the European; but it is of still greater importance, and for this reason—that everybody knows that America has no separate or sinister political interest of any kind in the affairs of the Levant.

She comes into court perfectly honest and perfectly unsuspected, and that which she says possesses on that account a double weight. I will not refer to the witnesses in particular, as I have been told you will receive a statement by my

reverend friend, Canon McColl, who is one of them (cheers); but I believe they are absolutely agreed, that there is no shade of difference prevailing among them.

Endorsement of Dr. Dillon.

I will refer to the last of these witnesses, one whom I must say I am disposed to name with honor: it is Dr. Dillon (cheers), whose name has appeared within the last three or four days at the foot of an article of unusual length—Ah! and good were the reasons for extending it to an unusual length—in the *Contemporary Review*. (Cheers.) Perhaps you will ask, as I asked, “Who is Dr. Dillon?” and I am able to describe him to his honor.

Dr. Dillon is a man who, as the special commissioner of the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper, some months ago, with care and labor, and with the hazard of his life (hear, hear), went into Turkey, laudably making use of a disguise for the purpose, and went into Armenia, so that he might make himself thoroughly master of the facts. (Cheers.) He published his results before any public authority had given utterance to its judgments and those results which he, I rather think, was the first to give to the world in a connected shape—at any rate he was very early in the field—those results have been completely confirmed and established by the inquiries of the delegates appointed by the three Powers—England, France and Russia. (Cheers.)

I say he has, at the risk of his life, acquired a title to be believed, and here he gives us an account which bears upon it all the marks of truth, but which, at the same time that we must believe it to be true, you would say is hardly credible. Unhappily some of those matters which are not credible do, in this strange and wayward world of ours, turn out to be true; and here it is hardly credible that there can dwell in

the human form a spirit of such intense and diabolical wickedness as is unhappily displayed in some of the narratives Dr. Dillon has laid before the world.

I shall not quote from them in detail, though I mean to make a single citation, which will be a citation, if I may say so, rather of principle than of detail. I shall not quote the details, but I will say to you that when you begin to read them you will see the truth of what I just now said—namely, that we are not dealing at all with a common and ordinary question of abuses of government or the defects of them. We are dealing with something that goes far deeper, far wider, and that imposes upon us and upon you far heavier obligations.

The Four Crimes.

The whole substance of this remarkable article—and it agrees, as I have said, with the testimony of the other witnesses—I am quoting it because it is the latest—the whole substance of this article may be summed up in four awful words—plunder, murder, rape and torture. ("Shame.") Every incident turns upon one or upon several of those awful words. Plunder and murder you would think are bad enough, but plunder and murder are almost venial by the side of the work of the ravisher and the work of the torturer, as it is described in these pages, and as it is now fully and authentically known to be going on.

I will keep my word, and I will not be tempted by—what shall I say?—the dramatic interest attached to such exaggeration of human action as we find here to travel into the details of the facts. They are fitter for private perusal than they are for public discussion. I will not be tempted to travel into them; I will ask you for a moment, any of you who have not yourselves verified the particulars of the case, to credit me

with speaking the truth, until I go on to consider who are the doers of these deeds.

In all ordinary cases, when we have before us instances of crime, perhaps of very horrible crime—for example, there is a sad story in the papers to-day of a massacre in a portion of China—we at once assume that in all countries, unfortunately, there are malefactors, there are plunderers whose deeds we are going to consider.

Here, my lord duke, it is nothing of the kind; we have nothing to do here with what are called the dangerous classes of the community; it is not their proceedings which you are asked to consider; it is the proceedings of the Government of Constantinople and its agents. (Cheers.)

The Turkish Government Responsible.

There is not one of these misdeeds for which the Government of Constantinople is not morally responsible. (Cheers.) Now, who are these agents? Let me tell you very briefly. They fall into three classes. The first have been mentioned by the noble duke—namely, the savage Kurds, who are, unhappily, the neighbors of the Armenians, the Armenians being the representatives of one of the oldest civilized Christian races, and being, beyond all doubt, one of the most pacific, one of the most industrious, and one of the most intelligent races in the world. (Cheers.)

These Kurds are by them; they are wild, savage clans. There was but one word, my lord duke, in your address that I should have been disposed to literally criticise, and it was the expression that fell from you that the Sultan had “organized” these Kurds. They are, in my belief, in no sense organized—that is to say, there is no more organization among them than is to be found, say, in a band of robbers; they have no other organization, being nothing but a band of robbers. (Cheers.)

These the Sultan and the Government at Constantinople have enrolled, though in a nominal fashion, not without military discipline, into pretended cavalry regiments and then set them loose with the authority of soldiers of the Sultan to harry and destroy the people of Armenia. (Cheers.) Well, these Kurds are the first of the agents in this horrible business; the next are the Turkish soldiers, who are in no sense behind the Kurds in their performances; the third are the peace officers, the police and the tax-gatherers of the Turkish Government; and there seems to be a deadly competition among all these classes which shall most prove itself an adept in the horrible and infernal work that is before them, but above them and more guilty than they, are the higher officers of the Turkish Government.

You will find, if you look into this paper of Dr. Dillon's, that at every point he has exposed himself to confutation if what he says is inaccurate or untrue. He gives names, titles, places, dates, every particular which would enable the Turkish Government to track him out and detect him and hold him up to public reprobation.

Three Propositions.

You will never hear of an answer from the Turkish Government to that article. That may be a bold thing for me to say; but I am confident you will never hear an answer from them which shall follow these statements of Dr. Dillon's, based on his own personal experience, through the details, and attempt to shake the fabric of grievously composed materials which he has built up in the face of the world.

I think there are certain matters, such as those which have been discussed to-day and discussed in many other forms, on which it is perfectly possible to make up our minds. And what I should say is, that the whole position may be summed

up in three brief propositions. I do not know to which of these propositions to assign the less or the greater importance. It appears to me that they are probably each and every one of them absolutely indispensable. The first proposition is this, You ought to moderate your demands.

You ought to ask for nothing but that which is strictly necessary, and that possibly according to all that we know of the proposals before us, the rule has been rigidly complied with. I do not hesitate to say, ladies and gentlemen, that the cleanest and clearest method of dealing with this subject, if we should have done it, would have been to tell the Turk to march out of Armenia. (Loud cheers.) He has no right to remain there, and it would have been an excellent settlement of the question.

Accept no Turkish Promises.

But it is by no means certain that Europe or even the three Powers would have been unanimous in seeking after that end. Therefore, let us part with everything except what is known to be indispensable. Then I come to the other two rules, and of these the first is that you should accept no Turkish promises. (Hear, hear.) They are absolutely and entirely worthless. They are worse than worthless, because they may serve to delude a few persons who, without information or experience, naturally would suppose, when promises are given, that there is something like an intention of fulfillment. Recollect that no scheme is worth having unless it be supported by efficient guarantees entirely outside the promises of the Turkish Government. (Applause.)

There is another word which I must speak, and it is this: Don't be too much afraid if you hear introduced into this discussion a word that I admit, in ordinary cases, ought to be excluded from all diplomatic proceeding, namely, the word

coercion. Coercion is a word perfectly well understood in Constantinople, and it is a word highly appreciated in Constantinople. It is a drastic dose—(laughter)—which never fails of its aim when it is administered in that quarter. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, I would not use these words if I had not myself personally had large and close experience of the proceedings of the Turkish Government. I say, first make your case good, and when your case is made good, determine that it shall prevail. (Cheers.) Grammar has something to do with this case. Recollect that while the word “ought” sounded in Constantinople, passes in thin air, and has no force or solidity whatever attaching to it; on the contrary, the brother or sister monosyllable, the word “must” is perfectly understood—(cheers)—and it is a known fact supported by positive experience, which can be verified upon the map of Europe, that a timely and judicious use of this word never fails in its effect. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I must point out to you that we have reached a very critical position indeed. How are three great Governments in Europe, ruling a population of more than two hundred million souls, with perhaps eight or ten times the population of Turkey, with twenty times the wealth of Turkey, with fifty times the influence and power of Turkey, who have committed themselves in this matter before the world, I put it to you that if they recede before an irrational resistance—and remember that I have in the first instance postulated that our demands should be reasonable—if they recede before the irrational resistance of the Sultan and the Ottoman Government, they are disgraced in the face of the world.

Every motive of duty coincides with every motive of self-respect, and, my lord duke, you yourself let drop a word which is a frightful word, unhappily not wholly out of place, and that the word is

“Extermination.”

There has gone abroad—I don't say that I feel myself competent to judge the matter, I don't think I do, but there has gone abroad, and there is widely entertained a belief, that the recent proceedings of the Turkish Government in Armenia particularly, but not in Armenia exclusively, are founded upon deliberate determination to exterminate the Christians in that Empire. I hope it is not true, but at the same time I must say that there are evidences tending to support it—(hear, hear)—and the grand evidence which tends to support it is this: the perfect infatuation of the Turkish Government. Now, in my time there have been periods when Turkey was ruled by men of honesty and ability.

I will say that, until about thirty years ago, you could trust the word of the Turkish Government as well as any Government in Europe; you might not approve of their proceedings, but you could trust their word; but a kind of judicial infatuation appears to have come down upon them. What has happened in Turkey? To hear of this vaunting on the part of its Government, and this game of brag that is from time to time being played, that it cannot compromise its dignity, it cannot waive any of its rights.

What would come of its rights in one-third part of its empire? Within my lifetime Turkey has been reduced by one-third part of her territory, and sixteen or eighteen millions of people, inhabiting some of the most beautiful and formerly most famous countries in the world, who were under the Ottoman rule, are now as free as we are. (Cheers.)

The Ottoman Government are as well aware of that as we, and yet we find it pursuing these insane courses. On the other hand, my lord duke most judiciously referred to the plan of Government that was introduced in the Lebanon about 1861, whereby a reasonable share of stability to local institu-

tions and popular control has been given in Turkey, and the results have been most satisfactory.

There is also a part of the country, although not a very large part, where something like local self-government is permitted, and it has been very hopeful in its character. But when we see these things—on the one hand that these experiments, in a sense of justice, have all succeeded, and that when adapted to the Greeks and the Bulgarians, and four or five other States, have resulted in the loss of those States, then I say that the Turkish Government is evidently in such a state of infatuation that it is fain to believe it may, under certain circumstances, be infatuated enough to scheme the extermination of the Christian population.

Well, this is a sad and terrible story, and I have been a very long time in telling it, but a very small part of it; but I hope that, having heard the terms of the resolution that will be submitted to you, you will agree that a case is made out. (Cheers.) I for one, for the sake of avoiding other complications, would rejoice if the Government of Turkey would come to its senses. If only men like Friad Pacha and Ali Pacha, who were in the Government of Turkey after the Crimean War, could be raised from the dead and could inspire the Turkish policy with their spirit and with their principles!

That is, in my opinion, what we ought all to desire, and though it would be more agreeable to clear Turkey than to find her guilty of these terrible charges, yet, if we have the smallest regard to humanity, if we are sensible at all of what is due to our own honor, after the steps which have been taken within the last twelve or eighteen months, we must interfere. We must be careful to demand no more than what is just—but at least as much as is necessary—and we must be determined that, with the help of God, that which is necessary and that which is just shall be done, whether there will be a response or whether there be none. (Loud cheers.)

CHAPTER XV.

The Cry from Armenia.

As we look farther into the details of the crimes committed under Mohammedan rule, we are more and more shocked by the appalling record. From the most trustworthy sources, from eye-witnesses and from letters received in America and other countries, written, many of them, by missionaries, we are able to obtain some faint idea of the magnitude of these terrible outrages.

Early in October, 1895, a serious outbreak occurred at Constantinople, of which one of the religious journals gives the following account :

It is the expected that has happened. A riot has occurred in Constantinople itself, directly under the eyes of the foreign ambassadors, and three or four Turks have been killed, and as many hundred Armenians are dead or missing, and business is interrupted, and men, women and children are crowding the Armenian churches, and the garden of the British Ambassador.

The Huntchagist Armenians, on the one hand, and the Moslem softas, on the other, have for a long time been spoiling for a fight. The Armenians have been goaded to exasperation by the long delays connected with the effort to institute reforms in the Empire. They have said repeatedly that there was no hope until such a disturbance was raised that the Powers would be compelled to intervene. So also the softas have been stirred more than usually by the talk of

partition of the Turkish Empire, and the loss of Ottoman prestige.

The bitter denunciation by Mr. Gladstone, and the even more significant threat of Lord Salisbury, have been well understood throughout the Turkish Empire, and have given force to the claim set forth by the Ulema that the present course was sure to end in disaster; that if Ottoman glory was to be restored, Ottoman methods must be resumed.

Cause of the Outbreak.

The immediate occasion of the disturbance was simple. A petition to the Sultan is recognized by all as within the right of every citizen. The appearance, however, of a large number of armed Armenians bearing the petition was distinctly revolutionary in its aspect, and, though promptly met by the police, proved too much for the excited Moslem imagination, and rumors spread rapidly through the city which called out the Turkish students. Once out they cared little where they went or what they did. The police were inefficient, and for a time there was a veritable reign of terror. The Government recognizing the gravity of the situation, called out its military, and compelled both students and Armenians to keep the peace.

More significant than anything else, however, is the appointment of Kiamil Pasha as Grand Vizier. He is by far the ablest statesman in Turkey. His predecessor, Said Pasha, was a politician pure and simple. Kiamil is a friend of England; Said, a tool of Russia. When the former was in office the country enjoyed peace and prosperity such as it has not had any time for half a century and more. Whether he will be strong enough to stay the influences now at work remains to be seen, especially if Said remains as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

But most important is the action taken by the representatives of the powers, who have sent a collective note to the Porte, and put their guard-ships where they can protect foreigners. Sir Philip Currie, the British Representative, demands that arrests shall cease and amnesty be given to those arrested. He also peremptorily requires a public proclamation, accepting the demands of the powers, and tells the Porte that the accession of the Earl of Salisbury implies no change in the attitude of Great Britain. This is welcome news and disposes of disquieting rumors.

Our Missions in Turkey.

The following, concerning American missions in Turkey, is of special interest. It is the statement of *The Independent*, the well-known journal:

In our mission columns we give a detailed statement of the situation of the American missionaries in Turkey. That situation is indeed perilous in the extreme. While as yet we have no word of loss of life, there is no telling what news any day may bring, not merely from the interior cities, but from Constantinople itself. We wish that it were possible for us to tell, or even to know, the full story of heroism. The facts will be known in time, and then we shall realize the calm courage that has faced, and still faces, difficulties and dangers that recall the stories of the Indian mutiny and the early experiences in the South Seas.

That protection against these dangers has been repeatedly promised, and as repeatedly denied, makes them not less but more fearful; and with the admiration for the heroism there stirs also a sense of indignation that combined Christendom should stand aghast before gangs of Kurds, and believe the weak lies of a treacherous Sultan.

We confess also to an even deeper indignation that at

such a crisis great metropolitan dailies should sneer at the work of these missionaries as indicating a "disease of moral hysteria," and should calmly talk about the "failures" of mis-



ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

sions. To be sure they do not agree, and one approves what the other disapproves, but the ignorance and lofty disdain displayed make us ashamed for them.

For sixty-four years the American Churches have been carrying on mission work in the Turkish Empire. The

principal agent has been the American Board ; but the organizations of the Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ have been represented in Syria, Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. During that time they have started and developed five colleges for young men, one for young women, besides a large number of seminaries, academies and training schools of a high grade.

They have inaugurated a system of common schools all over the Empire of such excellence and influence that every other community, however hostile to Protestant Christianity, has felt compelled, in self-preservation, to establish similar ones for itself, so that not merely Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites and Maronites have raised their standard of education, but the Moslems themselves have learned to boast of their girls' schools, a thing unknown before the missionaries landed in Smyrna.

Power of Islam in Danger.

Hand in hand with education has gone general literature. It is well known that one of the most potent influences for Bulgarian freedom was the weekly *Zornitza*, published by the missionaries ; and their various Armenian and Greek papers have had a marked effect not only in the establishment but in the development of journalism, while their translations of the Bible into the spoken language of the people, and their preparation of other books, have stimulated the people to a degree that can scarcely be exaggerated. They were wise mollahs who used to shake their heads as they passed the Bible House in Constantinople and muttered imprecations upon the men who more than any one else were endangering the power of Islam.

The outrages at Harpût, of which horrifying accounts have been given, are fully depicted in the subjoined letter from a missionary :

The world will have heard of the physical side of the disasters which have come upon this country. The moral aspect is still more deplorable. When the Saracens conquered these lands, they offered the people the alternatives, the Koran, tribute or the sword. These Moslems first strip the people of everything, commit other nameless outrages, and then the only alternative presented is Islam or death; and this in the nineteenth century. Hundreds of people have accepted martyrdom rather than deny their faith. Many more, some from fear of death, and others to save their families from a fate worse than death, have formally accepted Moham-medanism.

Churches Turned into Mosques.

In most of the villages and towns in this region, the majority of the survivors who were not able to flee, are now professed Moslems. Throughout all this wide Harpût mission field, there is probably scarcely a Christian service held among Gregorians or Protestants outside of this quarter of the city. Although the church here was burned, our Sunday services have been maintained in the college.

Churches have become mosques, and the trembling Christians are taught to pray after the Mohammedan form. Schools, of course, are disbanded, although we are gathering together the boys of our male department at the college; and we hope to do the same for girls, if we can secure rooms outside, as the girls' college is a complete ruin.

Every day, from morning till night, our hearts are torn by the recital of most horrible tales of bloodshed and outrage and heartless persecution. Some of our best and worthiest men tell of the agony which they suffer from the position which they hold as Mohammedans in form, while their whole being revolts against it. They say: "We would welcome martyrdom with cruel torture, if only our wives and children

could be saved from the clutches of these men by death or by some sort of freedom. We have gladly surrendered our homes to the flames and our property to plunder; but we cannot sacrifice our families."

Here is a very serious problem. Of course we cannot justify this position; and yet when we see the fate of many of these helpless families, bereft of their protectors, it is not in our hearts to reproach those who have saved their lives by this hypocrisy. Either alternative is dreadful; and to stand in the presence of such calamities so utterly helpless, except to cry to God in the agony of our hearts, is a trial which we never expected to experience.

Dreadful Forebodings.

Of course we cannot tell what the outcome will be. We believe that God has a people here, and that in some way, out of all this ruin, he will rebuild his Church; but at present the outlook is dark in the extreme. Many of the churches, parsonages and schools have been destroyed, how many we do not know, for the country is in such a state that traveling is very unsafe, and reports come in slowly. We know that seven of our pastors and six preachers have been killed, and we may hear of still others.

Few of the preachers remain at their posts. Not only would they be put under a pressure to accept Islam, but they are hated because they are understood to be promoters of freedom of thought. Then, too, where their congregations are recognized as Mohammedans, their presence among them now would not be tolerated. Here, too, is another problem. We have been steadily pressing for self-support, but even our city congregations are impoverished, and the congregations in the out-stations are most of them naked and hungry, and dependent on charity; so these faithful men and these bereft

preachers' families come back upon the Board for support. Some of them were wholly supported by their own people, who are now able to give nothing.

We are now organizing a system of relief in the hope that funds will come to us from abroad. Even were there abundant funds in hand, it is a most difficult and delicate business. Even those who have declared themselves Moslems receive no mercy from their co-religionists, who yet would resent foreign aid. The Government has the name of supplying rations, but so far it is simply a farce, and it does not reach the most destitute. The mortality this winter from scanty clothing, exposure and starvation will inevitably be great. God pity this poor people!

The Story of the Harput Massacre.

A more detailed account of the conflict is furnished by another missionary as follows:

Doubtless you know the main facts in the case; and I hope some time we may be able to get the details into shape, so that the Christian world may understand the enormity of the outrage which has been committed. We are not ourselves, I am sure, fully aware of the extent of the pillaging of villages and murder of innocent men, and the capture of women and girls for the harems of brutal Turks and Kurds. But I must give a few details.

We were surrounded for a week or ten days by a cordon of burning villages on the plain. Gradually the cordon of fire and fiendish savages drew nearer the city. The attack in the city was planned for Sunday, November 10, 1895, and some of the city rabble began to make demonstrations; but the soldiers drove them back. The invading Kurds, Redifs (in disguise as Kurds) were not ready for the onset. On Monday, November 11th, the attack began on Husenik, where 200

were killed and as many more wounded, then up the gorge to Sinamood and the east part of the city.

Then a body of men appeared in the Turkish cemetery below the city. They came near a body of soldiers posted on the hill with a cannon. Big Turks came down to them from the city; a conference seemed to be held. Apparently the invaders were forbidden to touch the markets (from which, of course, they knew that both Christians and Turks had removed their goods to their houses.) Then the soldiers withdrew and were posted on the road higher up, apparently to better defend the empty markets.

A Murderous Attack.

Then the invaders, with a great cry of "*Ash! ash!*" began to fire their guns. The soldiers also began to fire. It was *soon apparent* that this was only a little *sham fight*; but it was too thin to cover the nefarious design of the men who planned this thing. Then began the attack on the houses in this quarter. The soldiers protected the raiders, and not a finger was lifted by the military officers on the ground to protect the people or us from the plundering, murderous mob. There were hundreds of plunderers. Scarcely a house in this quarter escaped, and a large number were set on fire. A crowd of refugees were in our court and house and girls' school.

Soon our outside gate was attacked, and the crowd of fugitives fled for their lives. One company pressing through a narrow passage were fired upon; the bullets fell like hail around them: four were wounded. A cannon ball went through the same passage-way. This company fled to the hill and were taken into the city (twenty-seven school-girls in the crowd; they suffered untold misery in a khan that night; delivered next day, and brought away under an escort of sol-

diers). The rest of the refugees took refuge in the yard of the girls' school, surrounded by a high wall.

At the last moment I ran out to see if our heavy front gate was standing. I saw a hole a foot wide made, and instantly the loud report of a rifle warned me to retreat. We had been in the yard but a few moments when the marauders were at the door of the yard inside the school buildings. We made another start and hurried out from the gate, and this time for the college (boys') building as our last refuge. I was on the outside of the fleeing crowd, our invalids, Mr. W. and Mrs. A., borne in strong arms.

A Brutal Turk.

Suddenly a savage-looking Turk appeared at the corner of the building outside. I instinctively raised my hand to prevent his coming toward the fleeing crowd. Instantly he drew and flourished a revolver and deliberately pointed it at me. I thought for an instant it was only to frighten us and make us hasten our flight, but two shots from his pistol convinced me that his purpose was to murder. Some thirty or more had been shot down in the houses just below us.

Again, before we were all through the gate, he aimed at Mr. Gates and Miss Wheeler and fired a third time, but no one was hit. We breathed more freely as we pressed into the three-story stone building with the more than four hundred fugitives. Soon the smoke began to rise from the front of my house and Mr. Brown's; some say the house was set on fire by bombshells. Soon the whole of the houses connected with the Girls' College were on fire, and the large college building was no doubt set on fire; also fifty to seventy houses were burning below ours.

Then the chapel close to us was set on fire, and the intense heat would have set fire to the large high-school building

between the college and chapel ; but with our new fire engine and a plentiful supply of water, Mr. Gates was able to save it



A BEREAVED FAMILY.

This woman, with her daughter and son, has lost all the other members of her family, and has been robbed of all her household goods. The girl was cruelly maltreated by the soldiers.

from taking fire. Here in the college building, with 450 persons, we spent the night, with little bedding and only dry crusts of bread to eat.

The plan was evidently to destroy all the buildings, and thus render our stay here impossible. Mr. Barnum's house

was fired in three places, but the fire went out. A bombshell was fired into Mr. Barnum's study, and burst in the room from which they had fled only a little before. Mr. Gates's house would have been burned—oil was poured in two places—but happily was left unburned. Three nights we remained in the college building, then went into a room in the Gates's house; the Barnums also went to theirs.

The next morning after the attack the commander advised and urged leaving the college building, saying: "I can't protect you here." Mr. Barnum replied: "The time has come for plain talk. I saw you standing on the hill there yesterday when our houses were plundered and burned, and you did nothing to prevent it. If you wish to protect us, you can do it better here than anywhere else." The treacherous rascal said two days before that he would be cut in pieces before he would allow a Kurd to enter the city. He now brazenly replied: "What could I do against 15,000 Kurds?"

Mohammedanism or Death.

They wanted to get the people scattered in the city and us out of the buildings, and then they would have been burned. But I must not write more, although there is much to tell. We write to Constantinople, but can't be sure of our letters getting through. We have telegraphed a good many times, but telegrams can't tell all.

The pressure on the villages to become Moslem is terrible; large numbers have been instantly shot down or butchered who would not instantly abjure their Christian faith. We have already heard of the murder of seven of our native pastors and six preachers. But I have not time to enter on these horrible details. If I can get letters sent on, perhaps I will send again; 45 killed in the west quarter, 100 in the whole city. Husenik, 200 killed, 200 wounded. Official

reports will represent Turks killed. There has not been a single one killed or wounded.

Another Account.

A later account, signed by "An Observer," furnishes the following additional details of the outbreak at Harput :

The reign of terror still continues, although the feeling is not as tense as it has been. In the city only a few Christians venture to open their shops, and in the villages, where there is a mixed population, the Christians show themselves but little in public. Not a single person has been punished, or even arrested, for the awful crimes which have been perpetrated during the last few weeks ; consequently evil men have very little fear of punishment for new crimes which they may commit, although the Government is apparently trying to prevent further outbreaks. Threats are freely uttered, and so the Christian population is kept in a state of anxious suspense. The most common threat, that which is uttered by officials as well as by civilians, is, that in case Europe uses force, the Christian population will be wiped out altogether.

In the weekly *London Times*, of November 22d, 1895, it is written that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has authorized a Constantinople correspondent to announce that "the Sultan, prompted by the noble sentiments with which he is universally known to be animated, has issued an Iradé, ordering all those who have suffered during the troubles in Asia Minor to be clothed, fed and housed at the expense of the State until the situation improves. The widows and orphans unable to maintain themselves will receive a State pension. This measure is to apply alike to Christians and Mohammedans, to the innocent and to the guilty." His Excellency added : "Tell me in what country there is another sovereign whose humanity and goodness are equally boundless !"

We are in the midst of a population suffering as few people have ever suffered. Now what are the facts as to official relief? I cannot say what orders His Majesty may have given ; but, after daily and careful inquiry of people from many places in this region, I can affirm that the only aid which is given, or has been given in any case, is a little bread or a very small quantity of grain, and that, in many cases, of the poorest quality.

I have seen a sample of the bread given in Arabkir, and it is a strange mixture, almost black. In Malatia and Palu the rations issued to a limited number of the actually needy is one-half of a small loaf of bread. The Government ration for its soldiers and police is three such loaves a day ; that is to say, the ration issued to these sufferers is one-sixth of that given to those in public service.

Efforts for Relief.

Other large towns and villages have various experiences. A Relief Commission has been appointed here, and its members have made tours among the villages, prepared a record of the destitute, and promised aid. In some cases a small quantity of grain, sufficient to last four or five days, has been given, with the promise that after ten days they should receive more. Six weeks have passed, petitions have been given, and now the people are told that the grain in the Government storehouse is exhausted.

In some other cases the Commissioners have taken a few bushels of wheat from men who have plundered from their Christian neighbors hundreds of bushels, and this is doled out to those who have been plundered, and the Government is credited with great generosity. I have to-day questioned several men from a village on this plain, who say that after waiting six weeks the Government has given fifty measures

of wheat for the village, which numbers five hundred and eighty souls.

This is an average of fifteen pounds to a person, and they understand that they can expect no more. This village was plundered of everything. Even many of the doors of their houses were carried away; of their one hundred and ten houses, fifty were burned; fifty men were killed and five wounded.

“Boundless Humanity and Goodness.”

I have to-day inquired of two intelligent men from Peri, the residence of a Kaimakam, in a district north of us, and they say that the authorities there received an order from the Government here to help the destitute, but that not a particle of aid has been rendered, except to such as are willing to become Moslems; and others are given to understand that if they wish relief that is the only way to secure it.

These are illustrations of the “boundless humanity and goodness,” as they are revealed here. I have no doubt that the Central Government appropriates much more than reaches the sufferers themselves. Local officials are enriched, as is always the case when there is a distribution of relief.

Next to food, the most pressing need now is for clothing and bedding. Many were stripped of everything except a cotton shirt and drawers, so that those who have food are in danger of perishing from cold, as many have already. The Government has done nothing in the way of supplying these needs, except that in a few cases in the city, it has helped to restore stolen beds to their owners.

I have not heard of the bestowal of a single garment, except it may have been recovered plunder, or the giving of a yard of cloth to the most needy. The Turks do not aid even those of their neighbors who, to save their lives, have accepted the Mohammedan faith. There is here and there a Turk who

shows genuine kindness and pity, but the mass of them seem to be dead to every such sentiment.

And here, in justice to the local government, I should say that since the disaster which befell us, and for which the authorities were largely responsible, we have been carefully protected and great courtesy is shown us. We have a new Governor-General, who seems to be a very kind man. Our Minister, Judge Terrell, has been very energetic, and has secured orders from the Sultan himself for our protection. A company of a hundred soldiers is quartered on our premises, somewhat to our inconvenience. It would seem as though years must elapse before we can feel the confidence of former times.

A Scene of Suffering.

A great relief work is suddenly thrown upon us. We have the promise of funds from England and America, and we are in the midst of all this suffering. It is a very difficult and delicate undertaking. We have asked our Minister to secure for us permission from the Central Government to distribute relief, for any general public distribution will be sure to excite jealousy and opposition.

Meanwhile, we are employing a good number of men in clearing the ruins of our buildings of rubbish, and the ladies are employing women to make underclothing and bedding; and they are sending to poor women in the villages, cotton and wool to be made into cloth and stockings. We are also securing carefully prepared lists of the most needy in all the places within reach, and are giving a little money here and there, as far as we can, without attracting attention.

Daily rations of bread are issued in the city to nearly two hundred families, who take our tickets to the baker. It is an especially delicate matter to assist those who have declared

themselves Moslems. They are afraid to be known as receiving aid, as it would expose them to serious danger from their new co-religionists.

Another difficulty is to find means to reach distant places. Roads are unsafe, so that money cannot be easily sent; there are no people in such places, with money left, upon whom we can draw for funds, and if money is sent, it is not always easy to know through whom to dispense it.

Vast Extent of the Devastation.

The Lord, however, in answer to our daily prayers, is opening channels through which relief can flow out to places remote from us. But when one considers the vast extent of this disaster, the intensity of the suffering, and the fact that the most of the thousands who were killed were men who have left widows and children who are dependent, and many of whom are in a moral condition worse than their physical state; the picture is overwhelmingly appalling. Add to all this the terror under which the whole Christian population lives, and we have a condition which, it seems to me, has rarely had a parallel in history."

We present herewith a letter from a prominent Christian worker in Armenia to an Armenian lady, of high culture, in America. Names are withheld only to avoid adding to the danger by which the writers are now surrounded, but the truth of the statements, considering their source, admits of no doubt.

DECEMBER 12, 1895.

My Dear Sister:—I hope you received my letter of last week and learned about our condition.

After the massacres and the pillages of the 16th and 17th of November, the condition of our people became something most heartrending.

Though we do not know yet the exact number of the

killed ones in ———, it is estimated at 500 to 1000. Two-thirds of *all* the properties of Christians are pillaged. Every kind of business and work is stopped altogether. Everybody is shut up in their houses, and no one dares to come out of doors. You can understand what it means to our people.

At the present day we have 4,000 destitute survivors, of course all of them being Christians. The Turks are enjoying the booty they got from us. I have no doubt our destitution shall be doubled in a few weeks.

Oh, do tell the most heartrending condition of our people to the Christian friends in America, and raise money and send it to me through the American Board, and I shall disburse it in a most judicious way! It is simply impossible to describe the dark scene of the unheard-of cruelties of these two continual days' massacre.

Every day we hear of something new. They placed the head of a young man to his gray-haired old father's knees and butchered him there. A Turk took eight Armenian men to his shop by promising that he should keep and protect them there, and immediately went out and brought a few more Turks to assist him in butchering them there.

Mutilating the Dead.

Seven Armenian young men hid themselves in one of their shops. The Turkish *soldiers*, breaking the door of the shop, killed them with bayonets and clubs in their hands. After killing our most prominent men (Babigian Garabed-*agha*), they cut off their heads, and, as a disgrace, placed the heads on a spear and made a march of rejoicing through the streets. Our great market (*Baluck laghan*) flowed like a stream with the blood of the butchered ones there.

A butcher seized an Armenian at the same market, and as he had no bayonet or sword ready at hand, picked up a stone from the street and struck his head with it until the brain and all the contents of his skull came out, and was emptied and crushed.

Such fiendish and brutal facts are so frequent that we are sick. There is no end to these unutterable barbarities and hellish horrors, and for all these atrocities there has been no

cause whatever on the part of the Armenians. They are perfectly blameless.

We do not know how we shall pass this winter. The cold season, starvation and misery will no doubt kill as many as the Turks have. We are safe at present, but are not allowed to go to the town. We still trust God, who can turn all these harms of ours to everlasting joy.

After these terrible slaughters by the Turkish soldiers, the Turkish peasantry and the Kurds around the town, encouraged and incited by the soldiers, rushed into the city several times and made attacks on the survivors, in addition to the pillage and slaughter that already have been done. Hundreds of houses and shops have been pillaged, and hundreds of families left without food and clothing. Many have lost their houses even, which are being torn down by the Moslems, or seized by the soldiers to stay in. All trade and work are stopped; the men dare not go out of their houses.

Reduced to Abject Poverty.

Many rich and comfortable families have become poor. Merchants are ruined. Almost all the houses of the wealthiest men are stripped of all furniture and then burned. In some, the owners of the houses were burned as well. Those of the prominent merchants who are not killed are imprisoned. The hospital is full of wounded. The schools stopped, and school-rooms full of people who have no houses.

The Third Church is pillaged. Services are now being held in the First Church and Gregorian Church morning and afternoon. Very fully attended. People have nothing else to do *but* pray, and they crowd the churches and pour out their souls before God.

You have gone to the United States for a greater work, I hope, than getting a building for your Mission. I hope you may be the means of saving many of your people from starvation and death, by opening the hearts of Christian people to give for the relief of these suffering thousands. It is estimated that 500,000 are reduced to abject want by the recent massacres throughout Turkey.

Oh, the thousands of widows and orphans that are crying

to God to-day! Hundreds of families are sure to starve and freeze this winter.

The poor Armenian nation, persecuted and oppressed before, lies now crushed and bleeding and ready to die. The horrible things done in the massacre make one feel that Turkey is not living in the nineteenth century, but in the most barbarous and cruel ages of the past. Men hewed to pieces, beaten to death, bodies left in the streets for the dogs to eat, or dragged to the caves and stones thrown over them. Those killed in the market were thrown into the moat of the castle, and burned altogether.

Scramble for Spoils.

Women and children in the houses were not killed, but wounded, and clothing torn from them, while their rugs, bedding, boxes of clothes, dishes and everything had been taken from the houses. Ear-rings were torn from the ears of women and girls, tearing the flesh with them; beds and covering taken from them. Sick people, and women in confinement, had their beds and covering taken from them.

Many were told to choose between Christ and death, and Islam and life. No doubt many, to save themselves, chose the latter. Some Christians are protected by their Turkish friends. But some treacherously made a show of protection only to give them up to be killed by the mob later.

It is now more than a month since the first outbreak, but everything is yet at a standstill. This week a few weavers tried to work at their looms, but were so ill-treated by the Moslems that they had to flee home again. Only a few who have looms in their own houses can venture to weave what little material they have on hand.

Oh, when will peace be established again, and what is to become of the Armenians till then? Every one living is in fear of more to follow. It is a condition of living death.

I am glad you have been saved from seeing the terrible condition into which your own town and nearly all our large cities have fallen. Poor Marash! Nearly all of the Christian houses burned up. But may the Lord show you how you can help your poor people where you are. Do what you can for your poor dying people.

Atrocities in Many Places.

The following notes are from various letters received by *The Independent*, N. Y.:

Kulleth, a Mesopotamia village with a population of about 1000 souls, lost her sheep by a raid of the Kurds on the fourth of November, and the next day the village was attacked. The Government came to the aid of the villagers with members of an Arab tribe, and succeeded in holding out against the Kurds.

At Goeli, a village of nearly 2000 inhabitants, the people gathered in the church when attacked by the Kurds on the evening of November 7th. The next morning they surrendered, but were protected by troops in their escape to the city of Mardin. The number of killed, captives and those in hiding was not known, but about one-third of the Protestant community were unaccounted for.

At Kala'at-el-Marat, a village of 1500 inhabitants within four miles of Mardin, the villagers fled with their goods to Dere Zafran, the monastery where the Jacobite Patriarch has his official seat. The next day the village and the monastery were surrounded by the Kurds. The village was entered, and what goods had been put into the village church were taken, the doors and windows of the houses even being taken away. The Turkish Government sent 100 soldiers to defend the monastery, together with the villagers, and they were able to hold it against the Kurds.

The villagers from Benabeel, another village in that vicinity, fled to a cave high up in the rocks and maintained themselves there against the Kurds for two days, when troops arrived from Mardin and escorted 500 men, women and children into the city, among them being the Protestant preacher with his wife and small children.

At Arabkir and Malatia the Armenians undertook to defend themselves, with the result that the fighting was very severe; but they were overpowered with the loss, so far as can be learned, of 5000 Armenians in Malatia, and certainly 2000 in Arabkir, while from 500 to 800 Turks were slain. The Protestant preacher and his wife were saved through the kindness of a Turkish officer who was a neighbor. In Malatia Gregorians, Catholics and Protestants gathered together in two churches and fought for their lives until obliged to surrender. One churchful first gave up their arms on condition of being protected, but after that they were surrounded, and on the next day very many of them were killed.

Martyrs to their Faith

Among those killed on the Harpût plain were an evangelist and his wife who had done most noble work in the village until the last moment, although repeatedly urged to leave. The wife was first killed by a bullet, and her husband had his arms cut off and was then hacked to pieces. One noble woman, whose husband was one of the first killed in the city of Harpût, said: "I am so glad he is gone, and we shall all of us soon follow." The preacher at Keserik was awfully tortured and then killed. In one village thirty men were taken to the Gregorian Church, among them the Protestant pastor.

One by one they were asked if they would accept the Moslem faith. On refusing they were killed. The pastor was asked the question seven times, and each time he replied: "I believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." At another village ten men were taken outside and asked to choose Mohammedanism or die. One of the best women of the place, seeing their fate, said: "Come, let us cast ourselves into the Euphrates and be free." Fifty-five thus chose a watery grave.

Two missionary ladies were in the city of Arabkir just before the massacre. They wished to go to Harpût and repeatedly requested safeguards from the Government. For a long time it was impossible for them to secure the guards, but at last one was given. Many times on the way they were stopped by bands of Kurds, but passed through without harm.

The day they reached Harpût in safety the attack occurred at Diarbekir, and on the same day the large town of Maden on the Euphrates was destroyed. One of the colporteurs of the American Bible Society located at Arabkir was called upon to become a Moslem. He raised his hands in prayer, and the Turks cut off both hands with a sword and shot him dead.

The Relief Inadequate.

The relief work in Harpût is opening up rapidly, and the money goes faster and faster; but the missionaries cannot begin to keep pace with the needs. On one day came in a list of 396 souls from one village, out of more than twice that number in the village. These are absolutely destitute. Suppose only ten piasters—forty cents—per soul be given to them, that is 3,960 piasters, and this is only one village. How long will ten piasters last them for food, and how can they be clothed?

As late as January, 1896, the reign of terror continued, as may be seen from the following summary of the situation in the columns of one of our most reliable religious journals:

The week's record of news from Turkey is alarming in the extreme. The lawlessness of the Kurds in the eastern provinces has grown constantly, and has extended apparently to all classes of Moslems. In only one section does there seem to be any real opposition to the Turkish Government, and that is in the vicinity of Zeitun in the Taurus Mountains

north of Marash. There, according to reports, the Armenians besieged the Turkish garrison and compelled it to surrender, and notwithstanding the approach of troops, are holding their own in opposition.

Massacres are reported from every section of the country, including Erzeroum, Harpût, Van, Sivas, the Jebel Tur region east of Mardin, where the Jacobites are the only Christians, and disturbances from Mosul, Damascus, the whole Hauran, and the city of Nablus. Detailed accounts on the best of authority state that the massacres have been worse than the telegrams have indicated.

On every hand there is a reign of terror, increased by the fact that the Turkish Government is making every effort to supply Moslems with arms, while it makes the possession of arms by Christians the pretext for the most wholesale murder and pillage. The situation in all the large cities is terrible, and the anxiety is increasing in Constantinople.

American Missionaries Attacked.

Hitherto foreigners have been considered reasonably safe, but at Harpût the mob attacked the premises occupied by the American missionaries, and eight out of the twelve houses were looted, thus destroying not merely the property of the Americans, but the property of many Armenians who had taken refuge there. These houses were under the direct protection of the Turkish troops, as Minister Terrell had been informed by the Government. The missionaries' lives were saved, but, according to a telegram from a well-known missionary to Minister Terrell, in response to an inquiry from him, they are in great danger.

The missionaries at Bitlis have telegraphed to Constantinople asking for a safe conduct for themselves and their families to Van. Armenians are making every effort to escape

from the country, and telegrams from Odessa state that every steamer from ports in Asia Minor brings numbers of refugees who are mostly destitute. Crowds of refugees are also daily crossing the Armenian frontier into Russia.

The disturbance also is spreading into Arabia, where there is organized revolt. There has been a pitched battle between Arabs and Turks at Sana, in Yemen. There is trouble also in Crete, and the Albanians are threatening revolt. The reserves of the Turkish army have been called out, but in some sections they absolutely refuse to serve, on the ground that they have no assurance of receiving pay or even sufficient food. The Turkish Government is making every effort to persuade Europe that the trouble is due entirely to the Armenians, and makes the usual promises of reform.

Assassinsators Honored.

Meanwhile the ambassadors at Constantinople report that they can secure no answers to questions as to the period when the reforms will commence. The Sultan is improving every opportunity to decorate and advance men who have been identified with the outrages; and it is reported that the present Grand Vizier, Halil Pasha, is to be succeeded by Shakir Pasha, indicating still further defiance of the demands of the Powers.

New plots are also being discovered in Constantinople, and there are reports of increased bitterness on the part of the Turks against the Sultan. Large numbers of warships are gathering in the harbor of Salonica, but as yet there is no apparent plan for united action. The English papers, especially *The Spectator*, which speaks with an air of authority, assert that Lord Salisbury has a distinct policy of interference ready for contingencies, the time to develop which is fast approaching.

They, however, say that a joint ultimatum will be presented to the Sultan transferring the internal government to persons who are trusted by the Powers. If the Sultan refuses to grant the demands the combined squadrons will advance on Constantinople. On the other hand, it calls attention to the fact that any such action may be too late ; that though the Sultan is reported as terrified, he shows no sign of abandoning his position of defiance, and that the moment he is satisfied that the Powers do not intend to have any trifling with their demands, he may retreat to Brusa, where they cannot reach him. He is almost insane with fear, and has sent orders to the governors throughout the Empire that they must stop the disturbances. In view of this it is reported that the governments are awaiting the result of these orders before proceeding to the extremity of occupying Constantinople.

A Moslem War.

Reviewing the foregoing story of outrage, plunder and murder, one of our most influential newspapers says :

The news of the sacking of the missionaries' houses at Harpüt will bring home to Americans, as nothing else has, the real condition in Turkey. All will be profoundly grateful that, so far at least, their lives are safe ; yet we cannot fail to recognize that any day may bring news that they, too, have fallen victims to the " holy war " which for years has been the dread of every Christian under Moslem rule, and which there is increasing proof has been practically declared by the Moslem leaders, including the Sultan himself.

That proof is found in the wholesale slaughter of Armenians all over the country *after* they have been found to be unarmed, in the spread of the massacre to the section in the vicinity of Mardin, where there are no Armenians but Jacobites, against whom no whisper of a charge of revolution has ever

been uttered ; in the furnishing of arms to Moslem villagers and the punishment of every Christian found with arms ; in the repeated statements of Turkish officials of a determined purpose to destroy the Armenians before the reforms can be secured, and now in the absolute disregard of solemn promises for the protection of American lives and property.

The outlook is indeed dark. American missionaries are located all over the land, in Bitlis, Van, Mardin, Sivas, Cesarea, Marsovan, Aintab, Marash, Adana, Tarsus, Hajin, Brusa and Nicomedia, as well as in Constantinople and Smyrna. Which company will be the next to suffer no one can tell. The Bitlis missionaries have telegraphed to Constantinople asking for safe conduct to Van. It is a wild country through which they must go. Can their escort be trusted?

It is not sufficient that verbal assurances be given to Minister Terrell and the State Department. The only argument that can avail in the present crisis is the argument of force. The presence of the allied fleets in the Bosphorus, with their guns trained on the Sultan's palace, will do more than anything else to insure safety not only for Americans, but for every Christian subject of the Turkish Government. If that fails, then troops must occupy every available point, and high officials held as hostages for Christian lives.

America, who is not tied up with political complications, may be called upon to act independently. The White Squadron could be sent on no better errand.

The following appeal in verse voices in a striking manner the Christian sentiment of America. Always when great wrongs are committed the conscience of the world utters its condemnation. In how many instances, as in the present, the voice of wrath and rebuke is heard too late. The deeds that shock high heaven are done, and there is now no redress.

Armenia's Bitter Cry.

BY HETTA LORD HAYES WARD.

WORLD, world, hear our prayer!
Oh where is Russia, where?
A fearful deed is done;
Its glare affronts the sun.

Smoke! Flame! Fire!
Rouse thee, great Russian Sire!
When Christian homes are ablaze,
Hast thou no voice to raise?
Thy neighbor to thee has cried;
Pass not on the other side.
Look on our dire despair!
Where art thou, Czar, oh, where?

Land of the sun and sea,
Wake, Rome and Italy!
Our ancient Church in vain
Calls thee to break her chain.

Shame! Shame! Shame!
Where sleeps thy early fame?
To death our priests are led,
Their flocks lie slaughtered, dead.
Awake, good Pope of Rome!
Our saints through blood go home;
Hear thou their dying plea,
Where, where is Italy?

Land of Fraternité,
Brave France, turn not away!
Shall blood thy lilies stain?
Wilt bear the curse of Cain?

Wake! Wake! Wake!
For God and glory's sake!
On a ghastly funeral pyre,
Brave men are burned with fire;
God calls to France, the free,
"Thy brother, where is he?"
Lest God in wrath requite,
Awake, befriend the right!

The Cry from Armenia.

Where is good Frederick's son
When evil deeds are done?
Shall prisons reek and rot,
His mother's blood speak not?

Haste! Haste! Haste!

Time runs too long to waste.
If halts the Kaiser dumb,
Let all the people come.
Your oath must sacred stand,
Treaties of Fatherland;
Victims of Turk and Kurd
Rest on your plighted word.

Your sisters' shame and blood
Cry out to England's God.
Slain on the church's floor,
Their blood flowed out the door.

Speak! Speak! Speak!

The strong must help the weak.
Leave Turkish bonds unsold;
Betray not Christ for gold.
Let the Moslem dragon feel
Once more Saint George's heel.
England, awake, awake!
World, hear, for Jesu's sake!

CHAPTER XVI.

The Shame of Christendom.

ONE or two things about the outburst of fury against the Armenians which has swept over the Turkish Empire ought to be clearly understood.

In the first place these massacres were not "conflicts," except that in nearly every case some personal encounter between one or two individuals is made the excuse for a rising of savages who have carefully prepared for such an opportunity against the hated *giaours*. To this rule the affair at Zeitûn was an exception; and there may be others in that region, for there is no doubt that the revolutionists have been planning for a rebellion in Cilicia for some time, and we have not the details to show to the contrary.

The conflict in Constantinople consisted of three sharp brushes between police and Armenians about noon on September 30, 1895. No one can blame the police for killing the men who fell in those street fights in the attempt to restore order, if it was really necessary to break up the assembly of Armenians. All Armenians killed after two o'clock on that day were killed in cold blood and because they were "*giaours*," or "*infidels*." They were all, or nearly all, innocent people, so far as any disturbance of the peace was concerned.

At Ak Hissar (October 9th, near Adabazar) the Turks came to the village on the market day armed, and began by searching Armenians to see if they had arms. The "conflict" took place after they had satisfied themselves that the people were

unarmed. A Turk went up to an Armenian dealer in dried meat and seized his knife, crying out that he was armed. "Why, that is what I cut my meat with," said the Armenian, trying to get the knife back. "And I will cut you with it," said the Turk, stabbing him. That began the butchery and the loot of the bazar.

At Trebizond an Armenian tried to kill the ex-Governor of Van in the street. The Turks then began to talk massacre, and a week later an Armenian going home in the evening found himself pursued by some Turks. He fled; the men were gaining on him, and he fired at the supposed robbers. One of the Turks was killed. This was the "conflict" in this case. The next day the Turks suddenly began to fire upon the Armenian shopkeepers. They killed 700 or 800, and looted every Armenian shop in the city.

Hundreds Slain at Bitlis.

At Bitlis eight hundred were killed, and there is every reason to believe that the "conflict" was of this nature, since the Government only claims ten Turkish dead. So much loss is accounted for, as at Trebizond, by the Turks being killed by their own people's stray bullets, or, in a few cases, by their encountering resistance when they were breaking into houses.

It cannot be denied that the Government began to distribute arms to the Moslem villagers in some parts of the country; and since the outbreak in Constantinople they have shown great stringency in punishing Armenians found with arms, and great eagerness to aid Turks to buy them. About the same time the Governor of Palu was indiscreet enough to say to the Armenians that the Sultan had decided to reform them, but the reform would be with the sword. This speech was reported to the British Embassy, and the Governor was

removed. The officers in the Sultan's palace have been in the habit of saying that the Powers will be welcome to all the good they can get out of the reform scheme after the Sultan has finished with the Armenians, in case he is forced to accept it.

All the massacres have been coolly conducted. Care has been taken to avoid killing any but Armenians, and the police have been spectators of most of the outrages, and have repeated constantly the warning not to kill women and small children. At Ak Hissar they added, "For the women and children will fall to us after the men are all killed." In no case have Turks who killed Armenians been interfered with since the crime, and in no case has the Government made any expression of disapproval. Instead of this it has uniformly tried to cover up the facts.

Denial of the Massacres.

On October 25th and 26th, 1895, hundreds of Armenians at Marash were killed, and the heads of the three Christian communities united in a telegram begging for protection, which their Governor had failed to give. The next day the Porte sent out an official declaration that these Bishops (and the Protestant pastor) who sent the telegram had lied, and that no massacre had taken place. Since then it has attempted to suppress all private telegrams into the interior, and has forbidden all travel in any direction, lest the facts come out. All this points in the one direction of the sympathy of the Central Government with the operation of killing off the *giaours*.

It seems inconceivable that men can do these things and have no qualms of conscience. But if any one will read the canon law that is studied in all of the Moslem schools, he will find minute discussions of the treatment to be accorded to

unbelievers who pay the tribute that saves their lives. All of these discussions center about the one principle, that "giaours," or "infidels," have a right to live as long as it is convenient to the Moslem State, on condition of paying tribute. But if they refuse the tribute or for any other reason become a nuisance, the Imâm may order their destruction; and in that case their women and their goods become the property of the men who kill them, after the Sultan's fifth has been taken out. Consequently when the Imâm has ordered the slaughter of the Armenians, no one has the slightest feeling of guilt in doing it.

A Burning Question.

Every judge and lawyer, and most of the governors, and all of the religious teachers are brought up on this canon law. The question what the world is to do with a religion that insists on such license is going to become a burning one soon. A Turkish Governor lately remarked that Islam is not blood-thirsty. When these laws were cited, he replied: "Oh, but you see that is only when the giaour becomes a nuisance." He was asked what they could do if they considered the giaour a nuisance and yet the giaour does nothing against the State. He answered: "Well, if it comes to that, we have to find some way of making him do something that will justify the penalty." This contains the whole policy of Turkey for the last five years. It has been to goad the Armenians into rebellion so as to have a justification for the predetermined massacre.

Not even in the darkest days of the Middle Ages or under the terrible onslaught of the Huns was there manifest so diabolical a spirit as has been revealed in the course of the massacres carried out under the express orders of the Turkish Government. It has not been a wild outburst of untamed

fury, but a cool, well-laid plan for slaughter, rapine, and outrage.

The severity of the blow has been only equaled by the self-restraint that waited until everything was ready, and then carefully singled out the victims, choosing those whose life was most to be feared, whose death could give the fullest immediate return in booty, material and human. Even the stoutest arm wearies with repeated blows, and ammunition is not inexhaustible. Therefore the orders went out, "Kill the men; the women and children will then fall to us!"

One Story Everywhere.

The story is the same everywhere. Terror on the part of the Christians; quiet, soothing words from the Turkish officials, assuring all of the protection his Imperial Majesty accorded to all his subjects; mitigation of the fear and partial restoration of confidence; the opening of shops; and then, at some fixed hour, in every part of the cities, murder—and such murder! Cool, calm, implacable. Pleas for mercy met with the bullet or the sword, and that too not of ordinary brigands, but of the uniformed officers and soldiers of the Government.

After murder came robbery, until not a shop was left whose contents had not been distributed among the fiends. This was the case in Trebizond, Erzurûm, Harpût, Sivas, Marash, Aintab, Diarbekir—all the large cities of Eastern and Southern Turkey.

But this was not all. For half a century American missionaries have been carrying on their work in these same places. Turks as well as Christians have paid them high honor, for nobility of character and self-sacrificing devotion. They were protected by treaty rights, and solemn promises were given by the Turkish Government that those rights would be respected. Yet in two cities at least, Harpût and

Marash, the officers of that Government stood by and saw their homes pillaged and destroyed. Whose turn it will be next only God knows.

There are some lights in the darkness. The courage of those missionaries, facing the disaster, fully conscious of the peril, yet never swerving a hair's breadth from duty, and refusing to leave those whom their sympathy may comfort and their presence encourage, is sublime. One such wrote :

"Every letter that I have written home for two months past, I have written with the feeling that it may be my last. This will give you an idea of the constant strain under which we live. At any moment the earth may open and swallow us up."

He has been warned by officials that his life is in peril, yet every day he goes to and fro doing his duty, as calmly as in the days of Shiloh and Fort Donelson. We know of others, a husband and wife in another city. The husband urged the wife to take the children to Constantinople. She refused, and bound up wounds, comforting the bereaved, imparting her own high courage to the terror-stricken women about her. And they are not alone. All over the land American men and women are meeting the most fearful peril with simple trust in God.

What Will the End Be?

What the end will be and when it will come, no mortal can foresee. The responsibility rests not merely upon the Sultan and his advisers, but upon the Governments of Europe. If their mutual jealousy be the cause of their delay, then let them beware lest when vengeance falls, as fall it will, it do not overwhelm them as well as the Government they are protecting.

With the diffusion of intelligence there has developed material prosperity. The advance of the Christian races of

the Empire during the past half century has been marvelous. Gradually improved methods of agriculture and business crept in; homes were neater; there was more of frugality; foreign interests developed, and with all came prosperity and wealth. This aroused the envy of the Moslem leaders, and has had not a little share in stirring up the present outrages. The thing, however, that gave force to this advance, and that made the Moslem desperate, was the increase in moral and religious power. In those respects the change that has come over the Empire has been great.

When the missionaries commenced work among the Armenians they had no thought of founding a separate Church. To this they were, however, forced by the ignorant hostility of the clergy. To-day that has ceased; and in every part of the land the wisest and best of the ecclesiastics welcome the missionaries for what they have done in developing a higher purity of life, a greater integrity of character, a more spiritual worship.

Work of Devoted Missionaries.

All this is the direct result of the earnest, faithful, constant labors of the missionaries. To speak of it as in any sense a failure is absurd. To deride those who have been instrumental in bringing it about is monstrous. To allow it to be destroyed, as it will be if the present situation continues, would be criminal. It has received a blow from which it cannot recover for many years to come. Christendom must see to it that the light is not totally extinguished.

A daily journal in Montreal, Canada, quoted an appeal to England from one of our religious journals, and said:

“All this while the United States is the only country of whose influence no other country is jealous, and that is free to act; and the only one that, through the outrages on **her** missionaries, has a distinct quarrel.”

To which the journal that published the appeal replied as follows :

This is worth considering, and we are considering it.

But if we appeal first to England, it is because it would be impertinent for us to offer to interfere until England has declined to do her duty. By the treaty of Berlin the powers agreed to protect the integrity of Turkey, and it is made the special duty of England to protect the Christians of Turkey, and see that the Porte does not massacre or oppress them.

Politically we are outsiders. We are not parties to that treaty. A special power, and that power Great Britain, has this responsibility ; and if we ask Lord Salisbury to do his duty, it is because he took that duty upon Great Britain, and so upon himself, he being Prime Minister.

The United States may have to Act.

If, now, he refuses to do this duty, or if Russia tells him she need not, from some fear that England will gain some political advantage, or because, as appears to be the case, in any interference of Great Britain and the other Powers, Russia will fail to get possession of Constantinople, or as big a slice of Turkey as she wants, then it may be that Great Britain, having failed to do, or to be able to do, her duty, that duty may fall to the United States.

It looks, at present, as if Great Britain were the only one of the six signatory powers that really is influenced by any feeling of sympathy, and really wishes to do anything to protect the persecuted Christians. Germany holds back as indifferent as in the time of Bulgaria's agony. Austria is dominated by Germany. Italy is too isolated and too occupied with her Abyssinian war to do anything by herself. France waits as a humble lackey on the will of Russia, and Russia is not ready.

Intervention is very likely to mean partition. The powers that intervene have got to hold territory, and may not give it up. To protect the Armenians of Eastern Turkey Russia must send an army to Erzurum and Van, and France, Austria, Italy, Germany and England their armies and navies to Constantinople and the Mediterranean coast. Russia would thus hold a big piece of territory along the Black Sea, perhaps down to the Persian Gulf; but that would not satisfy her.

Russia's Great Purpose.

She means to have Constantinople and Jerusalem. She regards herself as the successor of the Greek Empire, as well as of the Greek Church, and to her, therefore, must come the old capital of Constantine and holy city of Helena. An intervention of England and the other powers might put off indefinitely the accomplishment of this purpose. She will do nothing, and allow nothing which will interfere with her "manifest destiny." The pear, when ripe, will fall, she thinks, into her lap, and she does not want it plucked prematurely.

Besides, Russia is now very busy with even more pressing issues in the far East. There has been a war between China and Japan, and the latter power has seized Korea and Chinese ports on which Russia has cast a covetous eye. First Japan must be driven out of Korea and China, and a big part of Chinese territory must be acquired by Russia, and this will brook no delay. Therefore Russia will forbid and prevent England's intervention in Turkey.

Unless there be some massacre of Greeks, or some uprising of young Turks in Constantinople, or an insurrection and slaughter in Jerusalem affecting Russian interests there, it now seems as if Russia would block the way to any vigorous action by England or any other European power.

If no European power does anything, then has the United

States any duty? This is a very serious question which we commend to the most careful attention of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney. As our Montreal contemporary has said, the United States is the only country of whose influence no other country is jealous, and which is thus perfectly free to act; while, at the same time, it is the only one which, through the outrages on her citizens, has a distinct quarrel. These outrages on our citizens are already of such a magnitude that they justify and demand our interference, not for any territorial aggrandizement or any political purpose, but simply in the long line of our action for the protection of our people abroad.

Destruction of American Property.

Large amounts of American property have been destroyed; our citizens are now practically prisoners in such of their houses as have not been burned; their homes have been sacked, and they are in daily danger of their lives. It is a duty of our Government to see that they are protected. We have hitherto depended very much on England to do it; now we must depend on ourselves. We have blustered, and we have threatened the Porte, and this has done no good. Against our warnings our buildings have been destroyed at Harpût and Marash and elsewhere, and it is time for us to do something.

But this is not all. Turkey is, by the consent of all Christendom in its dealings with her, a semi-barbarous power. No strong civilized power should allow a barbarous people to murder its citizens; and least of all can Christian nations stand still and see tens of thousands of subject Christians made martyrs because they believe in the same Saviour whom we honor. We are brethren, as Christians; more than that, we are all brethren as human beings, and we have brotherly duties to our fellow-men. We may not be a proud, vain,

selfish, overbearing, grasping nation among weaker nations, but we have some duty in the policing of the world and the putting down of piracy and massacre. Perhaps the time has come—we think it has—for us to wait no longer for the European powers to act.

We believe that if we should send our strongest force to the ports of the Mediterranean, perhaps to Constantinople itself, or if we should send a thousand or more soldiers or marines as a police force to protect our citizens and our property in Adana, Tarsus and Marash, England, and Italy and Germany and Austria would be delighted to see it done, and the result would be immediately good. Are we not ready for it? Shall we not protect our citizens and our property, which Turkey cannot protect? In doing this we shall take no part in the political affairs of the Old World, and—if anybody worries about it—we shall not in any way impair our Monroe Doctrine.

First and Imperative Duty.

When our neighbor's house is burning we do not need to stop any longer to watch an election bonfire. When the Christian population of Turkey is being murdered we can adjourn our difficulty with Great Britain until we have first protected the Armenians. The Monroe Doctrine, with all its applications, will not spoil if we keep it on ice for a little while.

With no prejudice to all our duties of protection to Venezuela, we protest that there is a much greater duty on hand just now, one that more closely affects our own people who have come from the Armenian country to live with us, many thousands of them, and our own citizens, hundreds of them, who are carrying on their lawful pursuits in that unhappy land. Without forgetting Venezuela, but letting it cool in

the pot of diplomacy for a while, we had better hurry up to rescue those who are caught in that burning house.

But the apathy of people next to it is shocking, is disgraceful. No wonder that we hear from Constantinople the cry, "We are ashamed of the nations of Christendom." The repeated, the continued massacres are enough to make heathen Japan intervene, just out of human sympathy. Of course the first duty of intervention and protection rests on the powers which have agreed by treaty to be responsible for the continued existence of Turkey, and for the defense of its Christian subjects from persecution; that is, on England, assisted—or hindered—by Russia and the other nations whose councils and armies maintain the sacred "balance of power."

But they do absolutely nothing. It is the most amazing exhibition of incompetence, inefficiency and iniquity in the history of Europe. We repeat the cry from Constantinople. We are ashamed of the nations of Christendom.

The Shame of England.

We may be more indignant with selfish Russia or Germany, but we are ashamed of England. That country has its special duties to protect the Armenians, put upon it by obligation of treaty. We know that Salisbury says that he can do nothing without the consent of the other powers; but we declare that the horrors of massacre and of forced apostasy are such that it is no time to wait for consent. It is a time for intervention. The English fleet ought to be ordered immediately to seize Constantinople, and then the Russian and Italian and French fleets would be quick enough to seize the other ports.

Then the Government of Turkey should be put immediately into commission; and at whatever danger of temporary disorder, which cannot be worse than what now exists, order should be restored, the assassins reduced to submission and

punished, the captive women and children restored, and time taken to decide how Turkey can be safely governed in future. We are heartily ashamed of England that she does not take the lead in this duty which is hers first.

But Great Britain and the other powers have as yet done nothing. Each says it is hindered by the others. Meanwhile, the house is burning down, and is there not time for the neighbors a little further away to come to the help, seeing that the neighbors near by are so busy quarreling as to which will loot the plunder that not one of them can get near the fire? Has not the United States a duty of intervention?

The Higher Law of Humanity.

We fully believe that this is our duty, and that, too, not because our citizens need protection, although that were enough, but from the vastly higher obligation of humanity. Have we a right to stand still while fifty thousand men are slaughtered, martyred because they are Christians, because they refuse to accept the Moslem faith, and while their women and children are seized and carried to the harems of the Turks? No. If the man next door does not run to the help, then we should. We do not need to wait till our own citizens are also killed. All international law, all decency, all brotherhood, all Christianity require us, these United States, to make forcible and effective intervention.

It is too late now to prevent the massacres past; there is no time to be lost in saving those who remain; and, seeing that the United States is not at all concerned in the political outcome there, and is more interested than all other countries put together, so far as the protection of her citizens is concerned, we trust that speedy action may be taken, much more vigorous, and that shall back up with force the threats of our Minister at Constantinople. We have not a very big

navy, but we have ships enough for this purpose, and we can charter all the transports needed.

We are not impressed by the widely-repeated declaration that the warning given by the United States to Great Britain, that the Monroe Doctrine must be enforced, has emancipated Great Britain from all obligation to protect the Armenian Christians from their murderous oppressors. The war scare, precipitated by a paragraph in the President's message, more plain-spoken than diplomatic, lasted but two days.

Side Issues no Excuse.

It was a foolish scare, for it was inconceivable that our two Governments should not come to a peaceable conclusion of their difficulties without dishonor to either. Great Britain's duties are not changed, for we are not going to tie her hands. If we had any serious quarrel with her we could adjourn it in the interests of humanity.

The lawless invasion of a semi-independent State in South Africa by British subjects, in defense of their fellow-subjects against real wrongs, has aroused Europe to indignant denunciations of England. Our beloved mother country seems to be attacked on every side, even although the British Government has done its best, at the last hour, to prevent the filibustering movement of Dr. Jameson's army.

The dispatch of the German Emperor is positively and insultingly hostile, and invites the Free Republic to throw off all its allegiance to England in foreign affairs. He definitely interferes with the British colonial policy; and France is echoing Germany. This is really serious; it is no two-days' scare.

It may compel Great Britain to call back part of her fleet from the door of the Dardanelles. If our little warning over Venezuela could excuse Great Britain from doing her boun-

den duty for the Armenians, then Germany's threat does it tenfold more. And we fear that it does it effectually. We suspect that, for the present, Great Britain is annihilated as a factor in the protection of the Armenian Christians.

A Startling Possibility.

What then? Possibly Russia, England being out of the way, may feel that she has a free hand even to take Constantinople, and wipe out the Turk. But that is so tremendous a possibility, and might so involve a European war, that we can hardly believe it probable. It is more likely that, since the only power is crippled that has any Christian sympathy, nothing will be done, and the Porte will be left at liberty to murder to his heart's content, and once more offer the alternative of the sword or the Koran, as he has done so many times before.

Calamity has overtaken the American missions in Turkey. During the storm of blood and fire, by which Islam has commended itself to its subjects and the world, these missions have been special objects of malice. To the aggressors the missions represent the source of the enlightenment and civilization, to eradicate which the massacres were ordained.

Of the destruction which has overtaken the Harpût station of the American Board's mission, the whole country is aware. Four buildings out of twelve remain, stripped of every particle of their contents, torn with bullets and cannon balls, blackened with fire, and surrounded by the grim ash-heaps which are all that remain of the other buildings gradually erected during the last forty years to be the centre of operations for this noble station.

Of the desolation which has overwhelmed Marash station, the American churches have also heard. The Theological Seminary there is a pile of smoking ruins, and the two other

buildings in the same enclosure stand pillaged and empty. Whatever the attacking soldiers could not carry away or did not value, was destroyed by ruffian hands through sheer hatred of the teachings against which they had been called into action.

Disasters to be Remedied.

Thus far the missionaries in all of the stations have been almost miraculously saved from death. But congratulations are misplaced which regard the safety of the persons of the missionaries as sufficient cause for condoning the loss of property which they have suffered. The lives of the missionaries are not all in which the American churches have an interest in Turkey. Disaster has overtaken the general equipment of the American Board's missions in Turkey. This equipment is the property of the American churches.

Since 1830 the churches have spent more than six millions of dollars upon the equipment, maintenance and development of these missions. Except Constantinople and three other stations in the extreme west of Asia Minor, all of the American Board's stations have suffered more heavily than was supposed. Information oozes but slowly from under the nauseous mass of falsehood which seeks to cover up the facts.

Probably at least one hundred of the village chapels and school-houses have been pillaged and destroyed, or seized by the Mohammedans for purposes of their own. Five-sixths of the stock of the books which the American Board and the American Bible Society had placed on sale in scores of the depots and salesrooms in various parts of the country, have been carried off, cast into rivers and ponds, or used, after saturation with petroleum, as convenient instruments of incendiarism.

Congregations have been scattered, schools are broken up, leading men are dead, and numbers of Christian women and

children are missing. The congregations, in general, are financially ruined, and their members are among those now dependent on charity for daily bread. For years past these congregations have been paying about one-half of the aggregate expense of maintaining pastors and schools under the care of the American Board in Turkey.

Slaughter of the Faithful.

This power of sustaining evangelistic work has vanished. More than all this, as the reports come in, the roll of the dead among the pastors and preachers and teachers is constantly increasing. Pastor Kilijian, of Sivas, was killed, and his body laid in a trench, with 800 other mangled corpses, to rest until the day when it shall be raised in glory. Seven pastors in the Harpût station field are already known to have died the martyr's death, willingly testifying to their faith in Jesus Christ when told that they must die if they did not deny Him. The head teacher of the boys' school at Bitlis is dead, and his bruised and gashed body was found, after long search, lying naked in the mud of a street. Teacher Leon, of Marash, was flayed alive. The full facts will be long in coming to light; but a great reduction in the number of workers in these missions is to be expected. At first sight the enterprise of the American Board in Turkey appears to be all but annihilated, so far as its most important and most interesting branch is concerned, the village evangelistic work.

But ask the missionaries what of the future, and all speak, in one voice. That band at Harpût, saved by the hand of God from the hail of bullets, stripped of all their possessions and left huddled together in the bare houses surrounded by smoking ruins, and within sight of the bodies of slaughtered parishioners, in almost their first utterance after the disaster, said: "Please do not order us to leave Harpût." In that

utterance they spoke for all the missionaries in Turkey who have passed through this baptism of fire.

The very disaster which has overwhelmed the missions of the American Board has opened the way for a glorious work for God and humanity. To leave the country now would seem to the missionaries the desertion of a sacred trust, the abandonment of a unique opportunity for doing Christ's own work, and the casting away of the fruitage from the labor of more than half a century. No, the missionaries cannot leave Turkey.

American Sympathy Demanded.

But the American churches must also rise to the height of the present opportunity to show this stricken people and their persecutors what Christianity really is. God's Providence now calls to the churches to rally to the support of the American Board in an effort to extract beauty from ashes. While the whole nation is grandly moving to feed and clothe the bodies of the starving, let not the need of the stricken souls be forgotten.

Let the Board be furnished with ample funds to restore its equipment, and to prosecute its great work of comfort and enlightenment with renewed vigor. The people are listening as never before to the comforting words of God's promises. Onward! is the Master's call in this emergency. Let advance along the whole line be the program of the churches everywhere in reference to the American Board.

Americans have invested millions in the enterprise of missions in Turkey. This enterprise, so far as the laws are concerned, is a pure question of business. American citizens choose to invest large sums of money in a lawful enterprise in Turkey, which they have carried on for many years with the strictest regard to the laws of the land.

Whether the enterprise which occupies American citizens

and American capital in Turkey is mining or railroad building, or, as in the case of the missions, it is the manufacture and sale of books, or the erection of a large system of educational institutions, the treaties guarantee its protection, and the millions of American gold invested in it are entitled to the protection of the United States against attack by the Turkish people or the Turkish Government. The disaster which has come upon the missions of the Board is not the work of a great popular uprising or of a revolution outside of the control of the Ottoman Government. It is the deliberate act of the Ottoman Government itself.

Hatred of Civilization.

The present administration of government in Turkey dislikes the civilization which its predecessors invited and protected when the missions were being organized. It therefore has set at nought all treaties with the United States, and has ordered its officials, its troops and its people to unite in destroying the property and the business of these Americans of the missionary force.

The hundreds of thousands of American citizens who have invested their money in this great enterprise and are the real owners and shareholders of the property thus destroyed, should let the Government at Washington know that protection of their agents where they are, and not mere provision of ships to take them away because the Sultan has changed his mind about observing treaties, is the aim which the importance of the capital invested demands of the United States to-day.

As information comes in from the districts south of Eastern Turkey, the proof increases that the whole series of massacres in Bitlis, Diarbekir, Erzurûm, Harpût, etc., were under the direct supervision of the Turkish Government. The city of Mardin is about sixty miles south of Diarbekir, on the edge

of the great Mesopotamia plain. To the east lies the region of Jebel Tûr, occupied by Jacobites and Kurds. The Kurds are in some respects bolder and more aggressive than their fellows to the north, but not more brutal.

A Successful Defense.

As the news came of the sacking of Diarbekir their taste for plunder was whetted, and they began to form plans for attacks upon Mardin itself, and Midyat, the chief city of the Jebel Tûr region. They gathered in large numbers, and with no city walls it seemed as if the cities would be at their mercy.

Representations were immediately made to the Governor of the city. All available troops were called out, and troops and citizens, both Christian and Moslem, combined in defense, with the result that both of these cities have been spared, and are considered to be out of danger. More than that, the troops were sent to a number of villages that were threatened by the Kurds, drove back the marauders, and brought the people under the protection of the Government in the city.

Similar statements come from Mosul. There, too, there were fears of an incursion of the Kurds from the region of Rowandiz—the same men who, under Sheik Obeidullah, ravaged the plain of Urumia about fourteen years ago. There, too, the Governor acted with promptness and determination, and not merely saved the city, but infused not a little courage into the minds of the people.

Contrast with these facts those at Bitlis, Harpût and elsewhere. In Bitlis, at the sound of the bugle, the markets were closed, and the entrapped merchants cut down in their stalls. At the sound of the bugle the killing stopped, and the pillage began, and went on till every Christian shop was looted.

At Harpût, after a parley with the Kurds, the Turkish troops drew up on an eminence below the city, and, when

ordered to fire, fired not at the Kurds, but at the city itself, the marks of their bullets appearing in the walls of the American houses, and one of their bombs being found in a ruined house. The same facts occurred in Erzurûm, Diarbekir, Trebizond; every place where there was massacre.

Note, also, the fact that not a single Greek village has been attacked, though there are many in the vicinity of Trebizond, Cesarea and Marsovan. Was there no significance in the fact that even in Diarbekir the massacre and pillaging stopped as suddenly as they had begun, and was there no connection between it and the fact that the French Ambassador sent word to the Porte that, if any damage at all came to the French Consulate in that city, a French fleet would hold Alexandretta until the head of the Governor had fallen?

So also when a band of Kurds, inflamed by their success in the Harpût plain, wandered west, they were met by Turkish officials on the border of the Province of Sivas, and told to go back; that there was nothing for them there; that work had been done. They grumbled, but they turned back.

Base Hypocrisy.

If the Turkish Government could protect Mardin and Mosul, and the French Consulate at Diarbekir, and turn the Kurds back from Sivas, it is the height of absurdity for it to say that it could do nothing at Harpût, Bitlis and Erzurûm. It could even have done more, for the Kurds of the South are more to be dreaded than the kinsmen of the North, and the Turkish garrisons are weaker. It has been the boast of those who defended Abdul Hamid II., that he was so deeply interested in the welfare of his people that he must know their affairs to the minutest detail.

Not a school was to be established, not a ship repaired, not a house built without his supervision. Their own arguments

return on them with terrible force. If he did not know of the massacres, then he is an ignorant puppet in the hands of his Ministers. If he did know but could not stop them, he is an absolute incompetent. If he not only knew but condoned or even ordered the destruction of a nation, he is a criminal to be ranked with the Neros, Caligulas, and Borgias of infamy.

A Question of Personal Obligation.

Just now the attention of the world is turned to Turkey and the Armenian people. Those who are not interested in the mission work are interested in the terrible events of the last few months and the efforts made to relieve the suffering and starving thousands there. The Christians of America have reason carefully to consider their personal duty to their Christian brethren in Turkey.

Owing to the heavy debt upon the American Board, at the last annual meeting held in Brooklyn it was voted that

The Prudential Committee in making the appropriations and expending the resources committed to our hands are not to be held responsible for disastrous results which may ensue from the insufficiency of those expenditures; and that they be instructed so far as practicable to restrict those operations within the measure of the means furnished them. For all limitations or suffering thus occasioned the churches must answer.

Acting under these instructions the Prudential Committee reduced the salaries of the missionaries in all fields of the Boards, except in Asiatic Turkey, by ten per cent., and the amount given for the general work—for churches, schools and general evangelization—about forty per cent.; this was necessary to avoid increasing the debt. However severe this reduction may be in other mission fields we desire to call attention to the fact that it will be almost fatal to the work in Turkey. Some of the reasons, as given us by Secretary Barton, are:

1. A large number of churches, parsonages and schools have been destroyed during the past three months in Turkey. If these are not rebuilt, the people cannot hold services or continue their schools. To fail to rebuild is to openly acknowledge defeat.

2. The people have been impoverished by fire, robbery and slaughter, and a large number of the most wealthy Protestant families have been completely wiped out. Churches that have been independent are now in immediate need of assistance in order to support any kind of Christian work.

3. The Christians of Turkey feel, and that, too, with good reason, that the Christian nations of the world have abandoned them to their fate. They have looked in vain for political help, and are almost in despair. If now the churches in America shall seem to be unmindful of their need of spiritual help and relief, and withdraw in these darkest hours the help heretofore given when less necessary, it cannot fail to be to them the last bitter potion in their terribly bitter cup of despair.

4. If in any measure we curtail our help for Turkey at this juncture, when difficulties multiply and dangers increase, it cannot fail to give the impression to the people of Turkey and the world that we of America are willing to do mission work so long as we can do it easily and safely. Such action cannot fail to be interpreted that our zeal for Christ and for men is not strong enough to endure persecution. A terrible thought must this be to those who, during the last few weeks, have faced a hundred deaths for Him!

5. Missions have, during the last sixty years, brought before the world the Armenian people. The marked progress this nation has made has drawn down upon it the jealousy and wrath of the Moslem rulers. The depths into which it is crushed to-day are made more dark and deep and terrible by the height to which it had climbed. Can we abandon this race now, or afford even to appear to do so, amid the perils which have come to it through the enlightenment we ourselves have carried to it?

6. The movement in Turkey is against an enlightened Christianity. The first terrible blow has been struck. If,

now, the Moslems see the Christian forces weakening and a quiet retreat begun, they will at once proclaim the victory theirs. The forces of Islam will be collected and unified, and a crusade against the Cross, and all the Cross represents, will be inevitable.

But we need not continue. It is true, hundreds of Christians—yes, thousands, have been martyred; but that is no reason why we should abandon the thousands who yet remain true to their faith. The missionaries, in their common suffering and danger, have won the confidence and affection of thousands more who never knew them before.

Shall we bind the hands of the brave missionaries, crush the hope of starving, bleeding Christians and openly confess victory for the Moslem persecutors?

CHAPTER XVII.

An Appeal for Armenia.

THE following appeal, addressed to the people of England and to the British Government, by Mr. E. J. Dillon, should also come home to every heart and conscience in America. Mr. Dillon says :

The time has come for every reasoning inhabitant of these islands deliberately to accept or repudiate his share of the joint indirect responsibility of the British nation for a series of the hugest and foulest crimes that have ever stained the pages of human history. The Armenian people in Anatolia are being exterminated, root and branch, by Turks and Kurds—systematically and painfully exterminated by such abominable methods and with such fiendish accompaniments as may well cause the most sluggish blood to boil and seethe with shame and indignation.

For the Armenians are not lawless barbarians or brigands ; nor are the Turks and Kurds the accredited torch-bearers of civilization. But even if the *rôles* of the actors in this hideous drama were thus distributed, an excuse might at most be found for severity, but no pretext could be discovered for the slow torture and gradual vivisection employed by fanatic Mohammedans to end the lives of their Christian neighbors.

If, for instance, it be expedient that Armenians should be exterminated, why chop them up piecemeal, and, in the intervals of this protracted process, banter the agonized victims who are wildly calling upon God and man to put them out of pain ? Why must an honest, hard-working man be torn from

his bed or his fireside, forced to witness the violation of his daughter by a band of all-pitiless demons, unable to rescue or help her, and then, his own turn come, have his hand cut off and stuffed into his mouth, while a short sermon is being preached to him on the text, "If your God be God, why does He not succor you?" at the peroration of which the other hand is hacked off, and, amid boisterous shouts of jubilation, his ears are torn from his head and his feet severed with a hatchet, while the piercing screams, the piteous prayers, the hideous contortions of the agonizing victim intoxicate with physico-spiritual ecstasies the souls of the frantic fanatics around?

Jokes and Blasphemies.

And why, when the last and merciful stroke of death is being dealt, must obscene jokes and unutterable blasphemies sear the victim's soul and prolong his hell to the uttermost limits of time, to the very threshold of eternity? Surely, roasting alive, flaying, disembowelling, impaling, and all that elaborate and ingenious aggravation of savage pain on which the souls of these human fiends seem to feast and flourish, have nothing that can excuse them in the eyes of Christians, however deeply absorbed in politics.

But it is the Turks and Kurds who, at their best, are stagnant, sluggish, and utterly averse to progress; and at their worst are—the beings who conceive, perpetrate, and glory in the horrors just enumerated and in others that must be nameless. The Armenians, on the contrary, constitute the sole civilizing—nay, with all their many faults, the sole humanizing—element in Anatolia; peaceful to the degree of self-sacrifice, law-abiding to their own undoing, and industrious and hopeful under conditions which would appall the majority of mankind.

At their best, they are the stuff of which heroes and

martyrs are moulded. Christians, believing, as we believe, that God revealed Himself to the world in Jesus Christ, they have held fast to the teachings of our common Master in spite of disgrace and misery, in the face of fire and sword, in the agonies of torture and death. From the middle of the fifth century, when the hero Vartan and his dauntless companions died defending their faith against the Persian Mazdeans,* scarcely a year has elapsed in which Armenian men and women have not unhesitatingly and unostentatiously laid down their lives for their religious belief.

Untold Agonies.

The murdered of Sassoun, of Van, of Erzeroum, were also Christian martyrs; and any or all of those whose eyes were lately gouged out, whose limbs were wrenched asunder, and whose quivering flesh was torn from their bodies, might have obtained life and comparative prosperity by merely pronouncing the formula of Islam and abjuring Christ. But, instead of this, they commended their souls to their Creator, delivered up their bodies to the tormentors, endured indescribable agonies, and died, like Christian martyrs, defying Heaven itself, so to say, by their boundless trust in God.

Identity of ideals, aspirations, and religious faith give this unfortunate but heroic people strong claims on the sympathy of the English people, whose ancestors, whatever their religious creed, never hesitated to die for it, and when the breath of God swept over them, breasted the hurricane of persecution.

* Yezdiged II., King of Persia, insisted on the apostasy of the Armenian people, whom he commanded to embrace the garbled doctrines of Zoroaster. Vartan, the chieftain of the race, gathered 287 members of the royal family around him, and with a following of 749 others, manfully died on the field of battle after a bloody combat with the Persian troops, on June 2, 450.

But what special claims to our sympathy are needed by men and women whom we see treated by their masters as the damned were said to be dealt with by the devils in the deepest of hell's abysses? Our written laws condemn cruelty to a horse, a dog, a cat; our innate sense of justice moves us to punish the man who should wantonly torture a rat, say, by roasting it alive.

And shall it be asserted that our instincts of justice, humanity, mercy need to be reinforced by extrinsic considerations before we consent to stretch out a helping hand, not to a brute or to a single individual, but to tens of thousands of honest, industrious Christian men, pure, virtuous women, and innocent little children to save them from protracted tortures, compared with some of which roasting alive is a swift and merciful death?

Suffering not Relieved.

Yet it is a melancholy fact that we have not alleviated the sufferings of these woe-stricken people by a single pang, and that the succor which no one of us, individually, would dream of withholding from a friend, a neighbor, nay, a bitter enemy were he in such straits, we all, as a nation, deny to our Christian brethren who are being bludgeoned, sawn in twain, burned or thrust fainting into a gory grave.

Why is it that our compassion for these, our fellow-men, has not yet assumed the form of effective help? For reasons of "higher politics;" because, forsooth, the Turks and Kurds, in whose soulless bodies the Gadarene legion of unclean spirits would seem to have taken up their abode, are indispensable to Christian civilization—for the time being; and because the millions of soldiers, the deadly rifles and the destructive warships which are accounted the most costly possessions of contemporary Europe cannot be spared in such

a cause—they are wanted by the Christian nations to mow each other down with.

In a word, the civilization built up on Christ's Gospel cannot stand, or at least cannot thrive, without the support of Kurdish cruelty and Turkish thuggery! It may be asked, on what grounds the people of Great Britain ought to show themselves more ready to pity, and more eager to succor, the Armenians than our Continental neighbors. The question differs little in spirit from that which the priest and the Levite asked themselves as they passed the helpless man mentioned by Jesus, who, on his way to Jericho, had fallen among thieves, and was left lying half-dead.

Fixing the Responsibility.

But in the present case an answer is forthcoming, an answer which is calculated to satisfy the most callous among us, and transform us into Good Samaritans. Briefly, it is this: because we are primarily responsible for their sufferings; because they are the innocent victims of our selfish pursuit of political interests—which have none the less eluded our grasp, and left us empty-handed, and face to face with the calamitous results of our egotism.

In the first place, we refused to recognize the Treaty of San Stefano, and to allow the Christian subjects of the Sultan to owe the boon of humane treatment to Russia's policy or generosity. We insisted on delivering them back, bound hand and foot, to their rabid enemies, undertaking, however, to undo their fetters later on. But the "later on" never came. Oppression, persecution, incredible manifestations of savagery, characterized the dealings of the Turks with the Christians, but we closed our eyes and shut our ears until the Porte, encouraged by our connivance, organized the wholesale massacres of Sassoun.

Then, for the first time, we interfered, striking out a line of action which we knew must prove disastrous if not completely successful, and without first assuring ourselves that we could and would work it out to a favorable issue. And the result was what was feared from the first. We acted as a surgeon might who, about to perform a dangerous operation, should lay the patient on the table, probe the wound, cut the flesh, and just when the last and decisive manipulation was needed to save the life of the sufferer, should turn away, and leave him to bleed to death.

Punished only in Theory.

These are reasons why we, and we more than any other people, are responsible for the misery of the Armenians.

The condition of Armenian Christians when we first interfered (1878) was, from a humane point of view, deplorable. Laws existed only on paper. Mohammedan crimes were punishable only in theory. Life and property depended for security solely on the neighborly feeling which custom and community of interests had gradually fostered between Moslems and Christians, and which greed or fanaticism might at any moment suddenly uproot. Russia was willing to substitute law and order for crime and chaos, and to guarantee to Christians the treatment due to human beings.

But we then denied her right to do this, as she refuses to admit our claim to undertake it single-handed. Our interference was inspired by purely political calculations, unredeemed by considerations of humanity. About this there is now no doubt, nor was there then any disguise. Our political interests needed, or our Government fancied they needed, the propping up of the Turkish Empire, when the Turkish Empire had already become the embodiment of the powers of darkness. And to these fancied interests were sac-

rificed the property, the honor, the lives of the Armenian people.

But, not to appear less generous or humane than our northern rival, we solemnly and emphatically promised to compel the Porte to deal fairly with its Christian subjects, and we undertook to see that such reforms were introduced as would enable Armenians to work without fear of legalized robbery or lawless brigandage, to marry without the certitude of having their wives dishonored and their daughters violated, and to worship God after the manner of their fathers without being liable to imprisonment, torture, and death.

We said in effect: "Though our political interests may clash with those of Russia, we will see to it that they are not subversive of the elementary principles of human justice and the immutable law of God. Therefore we declare that we are actuated by the will and possessed of the power to induce or compel the Porte to grant such political and administrative reforms as are essential to the well-being of its Armenian subjects."

This promise, and the events that rendered it necessary, constitute the main claim of the Armenian people in Turkey to English sympathy and assistance.

A Solemn Promise not Kept.

Yet we never took any efficacious step to fulfill that solemn promise. We never said or did anything the effect of which was to assuage the sufferings which owed their continued existence to our egotism. Nay, more; we allowed things to drift from bad to worse, mismanagement to develop into malignity, oppression to merge in extermination, and for the space of seventeen years we deliberately shut our eyes and closed our ears to the ghastly sights and lugubrious sounds that accompanied the horrors of Turkish misrule in Armenia.

Our consuls forwarded exhaustive reports, the Press published heart-rending details, Armenian ecclesiastics presented piteous appeals—all of them describing deeds more gruesome



A HORRIBLE SCENE

and nefarious than those which in patriarchal days brought down fire from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah. But we "pigeon-holed" the consular reports, pooh-poohed the particulars published by the Press, or characterized them as a tissue of gross exaggerations, and ignored the petition of the priests.

Let it not be supposed for a moment that this breach of faith was a mere "political peccadillo." It is often implicitly assumed, and sometimes flippantly affirmed, that politics postulate a code of morals different from that of private life. Even if this strange theory were true, it would furnish no justification, no excuse, no pretext for this indefensible conduct of a great nation towards a poor and down-trodden people. For the guiles and wiles, the subterfuges and stratagems which commonly characterize the diplomatic dealing of independent peoples and States are usually confined, even in their furthest consequences, by the narrow limits of the political sphere. They leave the real weal and woe of individuals practically untouched.

Fiends in Human Shape.

National prestige, commercial advantages, or, at most, a strip of territory, is all that is at stake. But our unfortunate action and inaction made themselves immediately and fatally felt in the very homes and at the firesides of hundreds of thousands of Christian men and women, driving them into exile, shutting them up in noisome prisons, and subjecting them to every conceivable species of indignity, outrage, and death. We pressed a knob, as it were, in London, and thereby opened hell's portals in Asia Minor, letting loose legions of fiends in human shape, who set about torturing and exterminating the Christians there.

And, lest it should be urged that our Government was ignorant of the wide-reaching effects of its ill-advised action, it is on record that for seventeen years it continued to watch the harrowing results of that action without once interfering to stop it, although at any moment during that long period of persecution it could have redeemed its promise, and rescued the Christians from their unbearable lot.

If a detailed description were possible of the horrors which our exclusive attention to our own mistaken interests let loose upon Turkish Armenians, there is not a man within the kingdom of Great Britain whose heart-strings would not be touched and thrilled by the gruesome stories of which it would be composed.

Robbed of Liberty and Life.

During all those seventeen years written law, traditional custom, the fundamental maxims of human and divine justice were suspended in favor of a Mohammedan saturnalia. The Christians by whose toil and thrift the empire was held together, were despoiled, beggared, chained, beaten and banished or butchered. First their movable wealth was seized, then their landed property was confiscated, next the absolute necessities of life were wrested from them, and finally honor, liberty, and life were taken with as little ado as if these Christian men and women were wasps or mosquitoes.

Thousands of Armenians were thrown into prison by governors like Tahsin Pasha and Bahri Pasha, and tortured and terrorized till they delivered up the savings of a lifetime, and the support of their helpless families, to ruffianly parasites. Whole villages were attacked in broad daylight by the Imperial Kurdish cavalry without pretext or warning, the male inhabitants turned adrift or killed, and their wives and daughters transformed into instruments to glut the foul lusts of these bestial murderers. In a few years the provinces were decimated, Aloghkerd, for instance, being almost entirely "purged" of Armenians.

Over 20,000 woe-stricken wretches, once healthy and well-to-do, fled to Russia or to Persia in rags and misery, deformed, diseased, or dying; on the way they were seized over and over again by the soldiers of the Sultan, who deprived them of the little money they possessed, nay, of the clothes they

were wearing, outraged the married women in presence of their sons and daughters, deflowered the tender girls before the eyes of their mothers and brothers, and then drove them over the frontier to hunger and die. Those who remained for a time behind were no better off. Kurdish brigands lifted the last cows and goats of the peasants, carried away their carpets and their valuables, raped their daughters, and dishonored their wives.

Cruelty and Torture.

Turkish tax-gatherers followed these, gleaning what the brigands had left, and, lest anything should escape their avarice, bound the men, flogged them till their bodies were a bloody, mangled mass, cicatrized the wounds with red hot ramrods, plucked out their beards hair by hair, tore the flesh from their limbs with pincers, and often even then, dissatisfied with the financial results of their exertions, hung the men whom they had thus beggared and maltreated from the rafters of the room and kept them there to witness, with burning shame, impotent rage, and incipient madness, the dishonoring of their wives and the deflowering of their daughters, some of whom died miserably during the hellish outrage.

Stories of this kind in connection with Turkish misrule in Armenia have grown familiar to English ears of late, and it is to be feared that people are now so much accustomed to them that they have lost the power of conveying corresponding definite impressions to the mind. The more is the pity.

It is only meet that we should make some effort to realize the sufferings which we have brought down upon inoffensive men and women, and to understand somewhat of the shame, the terror, the despair that must take possession of the souls of Christians whose lives are a martyrdom of such unchronicled agonies, during which no ray of the life-giving light that plays about the throne of God ever pierces the mist of blood

and tears that rises between the blue of heaven and the everlasting grey of the charnel-house called Armenia.

It should be remembered that these statements are neither rumors nor exaggerations concerning which we are justified in suspending our judgment. History has set its seal upon them; diplomacy has slowly verified and reluctantly recognized them as established facts, and religion and humanity are now called upon to place their emphatic protest against them on record.

They Glory in their Shame

The Turks, in their confidential moods, have admitted these and worse acts of savagery; the Kurds glory in them at all times; trustworthy Europeans have witnessed and described them, and Armenians groaned over them in blank despair. Officers and nobles in the Sultan's own cavalry regiments, like Mostigo the Kurd, bruit abroad, with unpardonable pride, the story of the long series of rapes and murders which marked their official careers, and laugh to scorn the notion of being punished for robbing and killing the Armenians, whom the Sublime Porte desires them to exterminate. Nay, it was the Armenians themselves who were punished if they complained when their own relatives or friends were murdered. And they were punished, either on the charge of having cruelly done their own parents, sisters, children to death, or else on suspicion of having killed the murderers, who, however, were always found afterwards living and thriving *in the Sultan's employ*, and were never disturbed there. Three hundred and six of the principal inhabitants of the district of Khnouss, in a piteous appeal to the people of England, wrote:

"Year by year, month by month, day by day, innocent men, women and children have been shot down, stabbed or clubbed to death, in their houses and their fields, tortured in strange fiendish ways in fetid prison cells, or left to rot in

exile under the scorching sun of Arabia. During that long and horrible tragedy no voice was raised for mercy, no hand extended to help us. . . . Is European sympathy destined to take the form of a cross on our graves?"

Now the answer has been given. These ill-starred men might now know that European sympathy has taken a different form—that of a marine guard before the Sultan's palace to shield him and his from harm from without while they proceed with their orgies of blood and lust within. These simple men of Khnouss might now know and wonder at this—if they were still among the living; but most of them have been butchered since then, like the relatives and friends whose lot they lamented and yet envied.

Crowded Dungeons.

In accordance with the plan of extermination, which has been carried out with such signal success during these long years of Turkish vigor and English sluggishness, all those Armenians who possessed money or money's worth were for a time allowed to purchase immunity from prison, and from all that prison life in Asia Minor implies. But as soon as terror and summary confiscation took the place of slow and elaborate extortion, the gloomy dungeons of Erzeroum, Erzinghan, Marsovan, Hassankaleh, and Van were filled, till there was no place to sit down, *and scarcely sufficient standing room.*

And this means more than English people can realize, or any person believe who has not actually witnessed it. It would have been a torture for Turkish troopers and Kurdish brigands, but it was worse than death to the educated schoolmasters, missionaries, priests and physicians, who were immured in these noisome hotbeds of infection, and forced to sleep night after night standing on their feet, leaning against

the foul, reeking corner of the wall which all the prisoners were compelled to occupy alike. The very worst class of Tartar and Kurdish criminals were turned in here to make these hell-chambers more unbearable to the Christians.

And the experiment was everywhere successful. Human hatred and diabolical spite, combined with the most disgusting sights and sounds and stench, with their gnawing hunger and their putrid food, their parching thirst and the slimy water, fit only for sewers, rendered their agony maddening. Yet these were not criminals nor alleged criminals, but upright Christian men, who were never even accused of an infraction of the law. No man who has not seen these prisons with his own eyes, and heard these prisoners with his own ears, can be expected to conceive, much less realize, the sufferings inflicted and endured.

Scene of Horrors.

The loathsome diseases, whose terrible ravages were freely displayed; the still more loathsome vices, which were continually and openly practiced; the horrible blasphemies, revolting obscenities and ribald jests which alternated with cries of pain, songs of vice, and prayers to the unseen God, made these prisons, in some respects, nearly as bad as the Black Hole of Calcutta, and in others infinitely worse. In one corner of this foul fever-nest a man might be heard moaning and groaning with the pain of a shattered arm or leg; in another, a youth is convulsed with the death spasms of cholera or poison; in the centre, a knot of Turks, whose dull eyes are fired with bestial lust, surround a Christian boy, who pleads for mercy with heart-harrowing voice while the human fiends actually outrage him to death.

Into these prisons venerable old ministers of religion were dragged from their churches, teachers from their schools,

missionaries from their meeting-houses, merchants, physicians, and peasants from their fire-sides. Those among them who refused to denounce their friends, or consent to some atrocious crime, were subjected to horrible agonies. Many a one, for instance, was put into a sentry-box bristling with sharp spikes, and forced to stand there motionless, without food or drink, for twenty-four and even thirty-six hours, was revived with stripes whenever he fell fainting to the prickly floor, and was carried out unconscious at the end.

It was thus that hundreds of Armenian Christians, whose names and histories are on record, suffered for refusing to sign addresses to the Sultan accusing their neighbors and relatives of high treason. It was thus that Azo was treated by his judges, the Turkish officials, Talib Effendi, Captain Reshid, and Captain Hadji Fehim Agha, for declining to swear away the lives of the best men of his village. A whole night was spent in torturing him. He was first bastinadoed in a room close to which his female relatives and friends were shut up so that they could hear his cries.

A Living Cross.

Then he was stripped naked, and two poles, extending from his arm-pits to his feet, were placed on either side of his body and tied tightly. His arms were next stretched out horizontally and poles arranged to support his hands. This living cross was then bound to a pillar, and the flogging began. The whips left livid traces behind. The wretched man was unable to make the slightest movement to ease his pain. His features alone, hideously distorted, revealed the anguish he endured. The louder he cried, the more heavily fell the whip.

Over and over again he entreated his tormentors to put him out of pain, saying: "If you want my death, kill me with

a bullet, but for God's sake don't torture me like this!" His head alone being free he, at last, maddened by excruciating pain, endeavored to dash out his brains against the pillar, hoping in this way to end his agony. But this consummation was hindered by the police. They questioned him again; but in spite of his condition, Azo replied as before: "I cannot defile my soul with the blood of innocent people. I am a Christian." Enraged at this obstinacy, Talib Effendi, the Turkish official, ordered the application of other and more effective tortures.

Roars of Infernal Laughter.

Pincers were fetched to pull out his teeth; but Azo, remaining firm, this method was not long persisted in. Then Talib commanded his servants to pluck out the prisoner's moustachios by the roots, one hair at a time. This order the gendarmes executed, with roars of infernal laughter. But this treatment proving equally ineffectual, Talib instructed his men to cauterize the unfortunate victim's body. A spit was heated in the fire. Azo's arms were freed from their supports, and two brawny policemen approached, one on each side, and seized him. Meanwhile another gendarme held to the middle of the wretched man's hands the glowing spit. While his flesh was thus burning, the victim shouted out in agony, "For the love of God kill me at once!"

Then the executioners removing the red-hot spit from his hands, applied it to his breast, then to his back, his face, his feet, and other parts. After this, they forced open his mouth, and burned his tongue with red-hot pincers. During these inhuman operations, Azo fainted three several times, but on recovering consciousness maintained the same inflexibility of purpose.

Meanwhile, in the adjoining apartment, a heartrending scene

was being enacted. The women and the children, terrified by the groans and cries of the tortured man, fainted. When they revived, they endeavored to rush out to call for help, but the gendarmes, stationed at the door, barred their passage, and brutally pushed them back.*

Bribed or Poisoned.

Nights were passed in such hellish orgies and days in inventing new tortures or refining upon the old, with an ingenuity which reveals unimagined strata of malignity in the human heart. The results throw the most sickening horrors of the Middle Ages into the shade. Some of them cannot be described, nor even hinted at. The shock to people's sensibilities would be too terrible. And yet they were not merely described to, but endured by, men of education and refinement, whose sensibilities were as delicate as ours.

And when the prisons in which these and analogous doings were carried on had no more room for new-comers, some of the least obnoxious of its actual inmates were released for a bribe, or, in case of poverty, were expeditiously poisoned off.

In the homes of these wretched people the fiendish fanatics were equally active and equally successful. Family life was poisoned at its very source. Rape and dishonor, with nameless accompaniments, menaced almost every girl and woman in the country. They could not stir out of their houses in the broad daylight to visit the bazaars, or to work in the fields, nor even lie down at night in their own homes without fearing the fall of that Damocles' sword ever suspended over their heads.

* The above description is taken literally from a report of the British Vice-Consul of Erzeroum. Copies are in possession of the diplomatic representatives of the Powers at Constantinople. The scene occurred in the village of Semal *before* the massacres, during the *normal* condition of things,

Tender youth, childhood itself, was no guarantee. Children were often married at the age of eleven, even at ten, in the vain hope of lessening this danger. But the protection of a husband proved unavailing; it merely meant one murder more, and one "Christian dog" less. A bride would be married in church yesterday, and her body would be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey to-morrow—a band of ruffians, often officials, having within the intervening forty-eight hours seized her and outraged her to death.

Others would be abducted, and, having for weeks been subjected to the loathsome lusts of lawless Kurds, would end by abjuring their God and embracing Islam; not from any vulgar motive of gain, but to escape the burning shame of returning home as pariahs and lepers to be shunned by those near and dear to them forever. Little girls of five and six were frequently forced to be present during these horrible scenes of lust, and, they, too, were often sacrificed before the eyes of their mothers, who would have gladly, madly accepted death, ay, and damnation, to save their tender offspring from the corroding poison.

Fate of a Young Woman.

One of the abducted young women who, having been outraged by the son of the Deputy-Governor of Khnouss, Hussni Bey, returned, a pariah, and is now alone in the world, lately appealed to her English sisters for such aid as a heathen would give to a brute, and she besought it in the name of our common God. Lucine Mussegh—this is the name of that outraged young woman whose Protestant education gave her, as she thought, a special claim to act as the spokeswoman of Armenian mothers and daughters—Lucine Mussegh besought, last March, the women of England to obtain for the women of Armenia the *privilege* of living a pure and chaste life!

This was the boon which she craved—but did not, could not, obtain. The interests of “higher politics,” the civilizing missions of the Christian Powers are, it seems, incompatible with it! “For the love of the God whom we worship in common,” wrote this outraged, but still hopeful, Armenian lady, “help us, Christian sisters! Help us before it is too late, and take the thanks of the mothers, the wives, the sisters, and the daughters of my people, and with them the gratitude of one for whom, in spite of her youth, death would come as a happy release.”

Neither the Christian sisters nor the Christian brethren in England have seen their way to comply with this strange request. But it may perhaps interest Lucine Mussegh to learn that the six Great Powers of Europe are quite unanimous, and are manfully resolved, come what will, to shield his Majesty the Sultan from harm, to support his rule, and to guarantee his kingdom from disintegration. These are objects worthy of the attention of the Great Powers; as for the privilege of leading pure and chaste lives—they cannot be importuned about such private matters.

What astonishes one throughout this long, sickening story of shame and crime is the religious faith of the sufferers. It envelops them like a Nessus' shirt, aggravating their agonies by the fear it inspires that they must have offended in some inexplicable way the omnipotent God who created them. What is not at all wonderful, but only symptomatic, is the mood of one of the women, who, having prayed to God in heaven, discovered no signs of His guiding hand upon earth, and whose husband was killed in presence of her daughter, after which each of the two terrified females was outraged by the band of ruffians in turn.

When gazing, a few days later, on the lifeless corpse of that beloved child whom she had vainly endeavored to save, that

wretched, heart-broken mother, wrung to frenzy by her soul-searing anguish, accounted to her neighbors for the horrors that were spread over her people and her country by the startling theory that God Himself had gone mad, and that maniacs and demons incarnate were stalking about the world!

Such, in broad outline, has been the *normal* condition of Armenia ever since the Treaty of Berlin, owing at first to the disastrous action and subsequently to the equally disastrous inaction of the British Government. The above sketch contains but a few isolated instances of the daily common-places of the life of Armenian Christians. When these have been multiplied by thousands and the colors duly heightened, a more or less adequate idea may be formed of the hideous reality.

Ideas of Justice Perverted.

Now, during all those seventeen years, we took no serious step to put an end to the brigandage, rapes, tortures, and murders which all Christendom agreed with us in regarding as the *normal* state of things. No one deemed it his duty to insist on the punishment of the professional butchers and demoralizers, who founded their claims to preferment upon the maintenance of this inhuman system, and had their claims allowed, for the Sultan, whose intelligence and humanity it was the fashion to eulogize and admire, decorated and rewarded these faithful servants, making them participators in the joy of their lord.

Indeed, the utter perversion of the ideas of justice and humanity which characterized the views of European Christendom during the long period of oppression and demoralization has at last reached such a pitch that the Powers have agreed to give the Sultan a "reasonable" time to *re-establish once more the normal state of things*.

The Turks, encouraged by the seventeen years' connivance

of the only Power which possessed any formal right to intervene in favor of the Armenians, and confident that the British nation was a consenting party to the policy of sheer extermination which was openly proclaimed again and again, organized a wholesale massacre of the Christians of Sassoun.

"Systematic Turkeries."

The particular reason for this sweeping measure lay in the circumstance that the Armenian population in that part of the country consisted of the hardest, bravest and most resolute representatives of the race, and that their proportion to the Mohammedans there was more than twice greater than elsewhere. The systematic Turkeries, which had impoverished and depopulated the other less favored districts, were consequently of little avail in Sassoun; therefore, a purgative measure on a grandiose scale was carefully prepared, for a whole year before, by Imperial officials, whose services the Sultan has since nobly requited.

The preparations were elaborate and open. The project was known to and canvassed by all. A long report was addressed by the Abbot of Moush, Kharakhanian, to the British representative at Erzeroum, informing him of this inhuman plan, proving its real existence, and appealing to the people of England to save their Christian brethren.

But international comity forbade us to meddle with the "domestic affairs of a friendly Power," and the massacre took place as advertised. Momentary glimpses of the blood-curdling scenes, as described by Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian eye-witnesses, have since been vouchsafed us; not by the Government, which "pigeon-holed" the reports of its consuls, but by the Press. And in these dissolving views we behold long processions of misery-stricken men and women, bearing witness to the light invisible to them, as they move

onward to midnight martyrdom amid the howls of their frantic torturers.

The rivulets were choked up with corpses; the streams ran red with human blood; the forest glades and rocky caves were peopled with the dead and the dying; among the black ruins of once prosperous villages lay roasted infants by their mangled mothers' corpses; pits were dug at night by the wretches destined to fill them, many of whom, flung in while but lightly wounded, awoke underneath a mountain of clammy corpses, and vainly wrestled with death and with the dead, who shut them out from light and life forever.

He Did his Best.

It was then that our present Ambassador at Constantinople took action, and displayed those remarkable gifts of energy and industry to which the Prime Minister lately alluded with pride. It was owing to his enlightened initiative and indefatigable perseverance that the unfortunate Armenians——. But what, ask the Armenians, have we to feel grateful for? What act of clemency, what deed of humanity, do we owe to British intervention?

The British Ambassador, however, did his best. He prosecuted inquiries, studied reports, made energetic representations to the Sultan, and at last carried the appointment of a Commission of Investigation. An excellent result, apparently, and the beginning of much else. Yes, but on one condition—viz.: that the British Government, before beginning this arduous work, saw its way to bring it to a successful issue, and, having irritated the Turks and Kurds to fury against the Armenians by this foreign intervention, were resolved not to abandon the Christians to the mercies of the Mohammedans without foreign protection.

Otherwise it was only too clear that our tardy action would

turn out to be a piece of inexcusable inhumanity. This view was expressed and maintained at the time by some of the leading organs of our Press. But the Government went its way unheeding. Yet, while the Commission of Inquiry was still sitting at Moush, the deeds of atrocious cruelty which it was assembled to investigate were outdone under the eyes of the delegates. Threats were openly uttered that, on their withdrawal, massacres would be organized all over the country—massacres, it was said, in comparison with which the Sassoun butchery would compare but as dust in the balance. And elaborate preparations were made—aye, openly made, in the presence of consuls and delegates—for the perpetration of these wholesale murders; and, in spite of the warnings and appeals published in England, nothing was done to prevent them.

Wholesale Destruction of Life.

In due time they began. Over 60,000 Armenians have been butchered, and the massacres are not quite ended yet. In Trebizond, Erzeroum, Erzinghan, Hassankaleh, and numberless other places the Christians were crushed like grapes during the vintage. The frantic mob, seething and surging in the streets of the cities, swept down upon the defenceless Armenians, plundered their shops, gutted their houses, then joked and jested with the terrified victims, as cats play with mice.

As rapid whirling motion produces apparent rest, so the wild frenzy of those fierce fanatical crowds resulted in a condition of seeming calmness, composure and gentleness which, taken in connection with the unutterable brutality of their acts, was of a nature to freeze men's blood with horror. In many cases they almost caressed their victims, and actually encouraged them to hope, while preparing the instruments of slaughter.

The French mob during the Terror were men—nay, angels of mercy—compared with these Turks. Those were not insensible to compassion; in these every instinct of humanity seemed atrophied or dead. In Trebizond, on the first day of the massacre, an Armenian was coming out of a baker's shop, where he had been purchasing bread for his sick wife and family, when he was surprised by the raging crowd. Fascinated with terror, he stood still, was seized, and dashed to the ground.

He pleaded piteously for mercy and pardon, and they quietly promised it; and so grim and dry was the humor of this crowd that the trembling wretch took their promise seriously and offered them his heartfelt thanks. In truth they were only joking. When they were ready to be serious they tied the man's feet together, and taunted him, but at first with the assumed gentleness that might well be mistaken for the harbinger of mercy.

Bloodcurdling Barbarities.

Then they cut off one of his hands, slapped his face with the bloody wrist, and placed it between his quivering lips. Soon afterwards they chopped off the other hand, and inquired whether he would like pen and paper to write to his wife. Others requested him to make the sign of the cross with his stumps, or with his feet, while he still possessed them, while others desired him to shout louder that his God might hear his cries for help. One of the most active members of the crowd then stepped forward and tore the man's ears from his head, after which he put them between his lips, and then flung them in his face.

"That Effendi's mouth deserves to be punished for refusing such a choice morsel," exclaimed a voice in the crowd, whereupon somebody stepped forward, knocked out some of his

teeth, and proceeded to cut out his tongue. "He will never blaspheme again," a pious Moslem jocosely remarked. Thereupon a dagger was placed under one of his eyes, which was scooped clean out of its socket.

The hideous contortions of the man's discolored face, the quick convulsions of his quivering body, and the sight of the ebbing blood turning the dry dust to gory mud, literally intoxicated these furious fanatics, who, having gouged out his other eye and chopped off his feet, hit upon some other excruciating tortures before cutting his throat and sending his soul "to damnation," as they expressed it. These other ingenious pain-sharpening devices, however, were such as do not lend themselves to description.

In Erzeroum, where a large tract of country, from the lofty mountains of Devi Boyen to the Black Sea shore, has just been laid waste and completely purged of Armenians, similar scenes were enacted. The vilayet of Van, the town of Has-sankaleh, and numerous other places have been deluged with blood, and polluted with unbridled lust. A man in Erzeroum, hearing the tumult, and fearing for his children, who were playing in the street, went out to seek and save them. He was borne down upon by the mob.

He pleaded for his life, protesting that he had always lived in peace with his Moslem neighbors, and sincerely loved them. The statement may have represented a fact, or it may have been but a plea for pity. The ringleader, however, told him that that was the proper spirit, and would be condignly rewarded. The man was then stripped, and a chunk of his flesh cut out of his body, and jestingly offered for sale: "Good fresh meat and dirt cheap," exclaimed some of the crowd. "Who'll buy fine dog's meat?" echoed the amused bystanders.

The writhing wretch uttered piercing screams as some of

the mob, who had just come from rifling the shops, opened a bottle, and poured vinegar or some acid into the gaping wound. He called on God and man to end his agonies. But they had only begun. Soon afterwards, two little boys came up, the elder crying, "*Hairik, Hairik*,"* save me! See what they've done to me!" and pointed to his head, from which the blood was streaming over his handsome face, and down his neck. The younger brother—a child of about three—was playing with a wooden toy. The agonized man was silent for a second and then, glancing at these, his children, made a frantic but vain effort to snatch a dagger from a Turk by his side.

Slash of a Sabre.

This was the signal for the renewal of his torments. The bleeding boy was finally dashed with violence against the dying father, who began to lose strength and consciousness, and the two were then pounded to death where they lay. The younger child sat near, dabbling his wooden toy in the blood of his father and brother, and looking up, now through smiles at the prettily-dressed Kurds, and now through tears at the dust-begrimed thing that had lately been his father. A slash of a sabre wound up his short experience of God's world, and the crowd turned its attention to others.

These are but isolated scenes revealed for a brief second by the light, as it were, of a momentary lightning flash. The worst cannot be described. And, if it could be, no description, however vivid, would convey a true notion of the dread reality. At most of these manifestations of bestial passion and delirium the Sultan's troops, in uniform, stood by as delighted spectators when they did not actually take an active part as zealous executioners.

And these are the Turks, whom unanimous Europe has

* Father, father.

judged worthy of continuing to govern and guide the Christians of Asia Minor. True, the Powers have courteously signified their desire, and the Sultan has graciously pledged his "word of honor" that these massacres shall cease. His Majesty, in fact, undertakes, if a reasonable time be given him, to re-establish the *normal* state of things in Turkish Armenia; and we know that that *normal* condition implies the denial to Christians of the fundamental rights of human beings, the refusal of elementary justice, the prevalence of universal violence and brutality, the abolition of womanly purity, the disintegration of the family, the rape of tender children—in a word, a system of "government" for which the history of the world affords no parallel.

Yet unanimous Europe, we are told, entertains no doubt that the true interests of Christendom demand that Turkish rule, as thus understood, should be maintained. And, with the genuine interests of Christianity at heart, the Great Powers are agreed to maintain it, in God's name.

Is Forbearance a Virtue?

If the refusal of the Powers to compel the Mohammedans of Turkey to respect the manhood, the motherhood, and maidenhood of their Christian fellow-subjects could be, and had been, based upon their religious reluctance to employ force even against superlative evil, one might question the wisdom of such forbearance, but it would be impossible to withhold respect from the principle underlying it.

But such is not the plea. Those same Governments who persistently proclaim Christianity on the one hand and unblushingly support the fiendish torturers of Christians in Turkey on the other, are eager to blow each other's Christian subjects in thousands off the face of the earth—aye, and to invoke God's blessing on the work over and above.

But indefensible as the conduct of Continental nations may appear to us, it is only fair to say that none of them was pledged specially and solemnly to see justice done to the Armenians; none of them broke any solemn promise by conniving for seventeen years at every species of human villainy in Asia Minor, nor could any of them reproach themselves with having roused the sleeping devils, lashed them to fury against the Armenians, and then left the latter to be trampled upon, burned, disembowelled, and pitchforked into eternity.

Silence Means Approval.

This unenviable *rôle* was reserved for Great Britain. Is it to be further persisted in? And if it is, are we, as Christians—nay, as men—to give the approval of silence to a line of conduct that would disgrace a tribe of heathens? Is there any political advantage so important and so seductive that the hope of ultimately securing it should harden our hearts to utter insensibility to the laws of God, the promptings of conscience, the inborn instincts of healthy human nature?

To some, even among us, it may perhaps seem possible to imitate the Christian States of Continental Europe, and keep the standard of true morality hidden away, to be applied only to bygone times and buried generations. But surely the bulk of normal Englishmen are still capable of assuming a definite attitude towards contemporary crimes, even though they have a political aspect, without staggering and reeling from the centre of Christianity to the distant and dangerous circumference.

It cannot be too clearly stated, nor too widely published, that what is asked for is not the establishment of an Armenian kingdom or principality, not a "buffer State," not even Christian autonomy in any sense that might render it offen-

sive or dangerous to any of the Powers of Europe ; but only that by some *efficacious* means the human beings who profess the Christian religion in Anatolia, and who professed and practiced it there for centuries before the Turks or Kurds were heard of, shall be enabled to live and die as human beings, and that the unparalleled crimes of which, for the past seventeen years, they have been the silent victims, shall speedily and once for all be put a stop to.

What Hope for Armenians?

What serious hope is there that the lot of the Armenians will be bettered in the future? The question of the promised reforms has already ceased to be actual. The Grand Vizier, explaining lately his reasons for not publishing the Sultan's recent undertaking to better the condition of the Christians, alleged, and very truly alleged, that the present Commander of the Faithful had brought no new factor into the question that needed to be published or made known. "His Imperial Majesty," he said, "made exactly the same kind of promise, respecting the same kind of reforms, as his illustrious predecessor seventeen years ago."

Exactly ; and it will have precisely the same kind of results. The Christian Powers of Europe will see to this, and England's duty is admittedly to follow the Powers. Continental jurisconsults have just given it as their conscientious opinion that any special reforms for the Armenians would necessarily involve a grave violation of the rights of man and of the law of God ; and the jurisconsults ought to know. If this be so, the sensitive Sultan will naturally shrink from such lawlessness and godlessness, and piously shelve the reforms

The reason given by these conscientious jurisconsults is intelligent enough ; because to favor any one class of the population—say the Christians—to the exclusion of the others,

would be to foster race hatred, to rouse religious fanaticism, and to unchain the most furious passions that now lie dormant (?) in the Mohammedan breast. They would strongly recommend—would these learned spokesmen of the Christian Powers—the introduction of wide-reaching reforms for *all* Turkish subjects, were it not that insuperable objections render even such a course absolutely impossible; for, in the first place, the Powers have no right to interfere in favor of the Sultan's *Mohammedan* subjects, who, in this case, would be mainly concerned; in the second place, the Turks and Kurds themselves desire no such reforms, are, in fact, opposed to their introduction; in the third place, they are utterly unripe for them; and, in the fourth place, general reforms for all would necessarily prove as disastrous as special reforms for Armenian Christians, because the Armenians, as the most intelligent and only self-disciplined element of the population, would profit by the improvements to obtain political preponderance for themselves.

How the Question would Settle Itself.

Things had better, therefore, remain as they are, with the wholesale butcheries left out; that is to say, the *normal* condition of things must be re-established, which in a very few years will solve the Armenian Question by exterminating the Armenians.

And England—Christian, moral England—apparently endorses this view, and seeks to persuade herself that by combining with the Powers to carry it out, she will have discharged all her duties, general and special, to the Christians whom she solemnly promised to protect. Is it right and proper to acquiesce even by silence in such unqualifiable conduct as this?

Have the tender humanities of the teachings of Jesus no

longer any virtue that can pass into our souls and move us to condemn in emphatic terms the abominations which are even now turning the lives of our brothers and sisters in Armenia into tortures and their horrible deaths into the triumph of the most ferocious malignity that ever lurked in the abysses of the human heart?

If any Englishman in any walk of life, be he a Cabinet Minister or a Yorkshire boor, had been appealed to for help by the wretched woman whose little girl was outraged to death in her presence, after she had been dishonored in the presence of her daughter, and her husband had been killed before the eyes of both, would he have taken much time to reflect before according it?

Had he witnessed the living, quivering Christian's flesh being offered for sale as "fresh dogs' meat," while the wretched man's children, whom he loved more than life, stood opposite him, the one with cloven skull asking for help, the other innocently plashing with his wooden toy in the red pool fed by his father's blood, would he have suspended his judgment until Continental Christians told him what opinion he should hold concerning these fiendish ferocities? Yet these are the deeds which, in thousands and tens of thousands, are being perpetrated, while we rejoice and thank God that at last all Europe is unanimous—unanimous in its resolve to shield the *Turks*, the doers of these deeds, from harm.

If there still be a spark of divinity in our souls, or a trace of healthy human sentiment in our hearts, we shall not hesitate to record our vehement protest against these hell-born crimes, that pollute one of the fairest portions of God's earth, and our strong condemnation of any and every line of policy that may tend directly or indirectly to perpetuate or condone them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Massacre at Urfa.

BY MISS CORINNA SHATTUCK,

Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

WE had often heard that the Moslems were dissatisfied with the attempt in October, 1895, which resulted in the destruction of only forty lives and about \$750,000 worth of goods, the plunder of 600 shops and 289 houses. After this the Christians were all completely disarmed by the Government. Some eighty men had been imprisoned, and we feared another scene of terror. It came at last with great suddenness.

On Saturday, December 28th, 1895, the firing of a few guns in the Moslem quarter south of us proved the signal. Immediately an immense multitude gathered on the hill back of our house. The guards in the street east of us went to meet the people, fired a few shots over their heads, and then allowed the mass of wild humanity, thirsty for blood, to pass into the city and begin their work. The horrid work continued until dark. Three soldiers kept the mob from entering our street, constantly proclaiming: "It is the house of a foreigner, and it is forbidden to touch her." We find by count that our "shadow" covered seventeen houses and two hundred and forty people.

The mob came as far as to enter our girls' schoolrooms in the churchyard, and they broke open the third door below us on the street and plundered the house. I saw one man beaten and then thrown down on the roof just opposite to me on the other side of the street. The Syrians and Roman

Catholics were also spared. All other Christians suffered complete loss of all home furnishings, and some houses were burned. The number of killed cannot be less than 3,500 and may reach 4,000. Of these it is estimated that 1,500 perished in the great Gregorian church.

On Saturday that portion of the city was hardly touched, and great numbers of Armenians flocked to the church for safety that night. Sunday morning the work began again at daybreak, and when the people reached the church the soldiers broke open the doors. Then entering, they began a butchery which became a great holocaust. It was participated in by many classes of Moslems. For two days the air of the city was unendurable; then began the clearing up. During two days we saw constantly men lugging sacks filled with bones and ashes. The dragging off of 1,500 bodies for burial in trenches was more quickly completed, some being taken on animals.

How they Escaped.

The last work of all has been the clearing of the wells. From one very large well it is said that sixty bodies were taken. It is well authenticated that twenty bodies were taken from another well. About three hundred persons escaped from the church by way of the roof, which was reached by a narrow staircase on the inside. Shortly after noon on Sunday some fifteen or more of the prominent citizens and Government officials (not including the Mutessarif, or the military commander), preceded by a military band and mounted guard, made a grand parade of the city. They entered our yard, and, speaking with me from the veranda, they assured me of perfect safety and begged me not to be alarmed, as it was "nothing that pertained to me." I very quickly went into my room.

The work did not cease until dark on Sunday, the 29th.

On Monday the Kurds and Arabs were prevented from entering the city, the firing beginning about dawn. All day Sunday a strong guard was about our premises. A captain of the army sat on his horse for hours at our northwest corner, just outside of the church premises. Repeatedly I received salutations and assurances of perfect safety from Government officials during that longest day I ever knew. It was evident that the utmost was done to protect *me*. How willingly I would have died that the thousands of *parents* might be spared for their children !

The work of plunder is complete. Literally naught remains. By actual count only ten Protestant houses remain untouched, and five of these are in the district which I have spoken of as my shadow.

The Number Lost.

Our loss of life is one hundred and five, all but nine being men. These nine include two women and seven children, who were in the Gregorian church when it was sacked. Our wounded are many. I have eighteen under my immediate care. Most of these have several severe wounds. One has eleven ; one has eighteen; ghastly sword and axe cuts on head and neck. There are a few gunshot wounds. There is only one doctor for the whole city. He has three hundred and fifty, and cannot care for more, nor for these but in part. He came at my call to see one who we supposed must lose his hand, dressed the arm, and committed the case to my care.

Thus far, thank God, all are doing well. I have found three persons who, like myself, are inexperienced in such matters ; but they are proving careful, sensible workers with me. We dress most of the wounds in the church. Our schoolrooms (all but one, used as headquarters of our guard) are crowded with some two hundred and fifty or three hundred of the most forlorn and needy. Our home is also full. Those

who are spared to their families are in great fear, and wish to be near me. We cannot receive all, and it is hard to daily turn away so many. Some have a little food, found in their houses, and some nothing. One of the several great men who have called to express sympathy, and to say, Turkish style, "It was from God," has sent provisions, for which I am exceedingly grateful.

The Government provides about 200 loaves of bread per day for the poor. But all this kindness will soon come to an end, and utter poverty will be the lot of most. The Protestant pastor, the Rev. H. Abouhayatian, and several efficient members of the church are among the dead. I tried to secure the body of the pastor, but failed. His children—six—they immediately granted to me.

Done Systematically.

The custom in these affairs so general in Turkey seems to be for one party to rush ahead and kill. This is followed by another party which hurries off the women and children to some mosque, khan or some Moslem home temporarily open for their reception. Lastly, this operation is followed by the stripping of the house. Children often get separated from parents and are late in being found. One of the earliest offers made to me was to undertake finding any lost if I would send in the full name. My own guards, twenty in number since Sunday, do my every bidding as if I were a queen. I use them for help in all sorts of ways.

Markets are closed, and it is very difficult to get some things much needed. We have had but forty-five beds given back to us of those plundered, and a few pieces of copper; as yet I fail to secure more, or instructions as to method of procedure for individuals to secure stolen goods. The Government has large numbers of beds and much copper-ware

stored for return to the owners, but all fear to stir lest the end has not yet come.

The aged Bishop of the Gregorians was spared, but only one, or possibly two priests.

Our own teacher of the Boys' High School and several Gregorian teachers were killed. I believe the Gregorians are in greater suffering than the Protestants, having no foreigner to do for them, and any efficient ones spared are afraid to venture out.

To-day the long-expected soldiers have arrived—eight or nine hundred. Our city has been guarded (?) by resident soldiers. We must have your prayers and your pecuniary aid. How are the people to live through this winter?

CHAPTER XIX.

The Last the Worst.

BY KINSLEY TWINING, D.D., LL.D.

THE bare, bald and humiliating fact that must dawn on us, sooner or later, as to these Armenian massacres, is that, in spite of the assurance our nineteenth-century civilization and progress were supposed to give against such atrocities, the impossible has burst on us, and of all the records of cruelty and horror enacted by man on man, this latest extirpation of the Christian population in Asiatic Turkey is the worst.

There is an awful ferocity in it which balks and baffles this fancied age of peace, and sets a-ringing in our ears the imprecation which Mohammed died repeating: "Lord, destroy the Jews and Christians!" When at his first victory over the Koreish he ordered and supervised in person the massacre of six hundred Jews in one day, he could plead in extenuation the cruel necessity which religious fanaticism accepted as the law of God. He could even say that he had first pondered the question as it lay between a propaganda by truth and reason, or a propaganda by the sword, and that when at last the sword had been placed in his hand the cruelty of his campaigning was but the stern faithfulness of the Prophet against the enemies of God.

When, under the Caliphs who succeeded him, women and children swarmed over the battle-fields, armed with clubs to beat the life from the wounded Christians, still warm and breathing on the ground, there still remained the plea that

Islam's God called them to this sacrifice of pity in the breasts of women and children.

During the hundred years when Islam was trampling out the faith in Christ with fire and massacre in Syria and Egypt, shook its sword over the enfeebled churches of Africa, the rich fields of Spain, and finally went down at Poitiers under the tremendous blows of Charles Martel and his Austrasian Franks, during all this bloody course the Saracen could say for himself that he had confined his cruelty to the field of war, and that his reign in peace was mild and just.

Some such palliation has been attempted for the Inquisition in Spain, for the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, for the ineffable atrocities of St. Bartholomew's Day and the French Reign of Terror.

Heathenish Ferocity.

Torture as an adjunct of the law and for the examination of witnesses throws a black-enough cloud on the history of Europe from far back in Grecian times when Aristogeiton was tortured after the assassination of Hipparchus, or Philotas, when accused of conspiring against Alexander. It is to the everlasting credit of Egypt and of the Mosaic code that no traces of these terrible ministers of law exist in them; while in Greece the wheel, the rack, the burning brick, were employed to further the ends of justice.

For such barbarisms as these some palliation may be found in the prevailing customs, in the ideas of a dark age, in the gentler instincts of humanity blunted by the stern conception of an overmastering mission. Excepting for the fantastic atrocities of Nero, some such modifying considerations will apply to the two centuries and a half of persecution in which the Roman Emperors tried and tested the Christian Church—especially when emperors like Trojan, Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian are concerned.

But when we search for comparisons with what has been going on in Asiatic Turkey against the Armenians for about seventeen years, there are no large examples anywhere to match it. A few solitary instances stand out in Roman history, such as Suetonius's reports of the Emperor Tiberius adding zest to his besotted life by delight in these inhuman pleasures and these terrible pursuits, or of the monster Caligula introducing torture as the pleasing accompaniment of his dinners or a relish to his meals, while the Emperor Claudius sat by enjoying the fun.

The Scourge of the Century.

Expand these solitary instances, these demoniac examples, sifted out of all the history of the world's ferocious examples and preserved to us, not as characteristic of the times, but as horrible exceptions to affright the reader and as monumental subjects for everlasting scorn—expand these solitary instances, and we have before us the fair, typical representation of the Governmental extermination which Turkey has for these last fifteen years been practicing on the Armenian Christians in Anatolia, in an age of toleration, in a time of peace and social order.

There never was anything like it before in the history of the world. The only model or precedent for it is to be found in the inhuman practices of a Tiberius or a Caligula, in serving up human torture at table as a dish fit for a king.

What the Roman historian has described as the exceptional horrors privately practiced in Rome by its trio of imperial demons, has for seventeen years been the policy of Turkey for the government, the extermination, I should say, of the Armenians. It has called to its aid the passion, the lust, the fanatic ferocity of a population which in these elements of inhumanity was never surpassed; with cool deliberation and

proceeding one step at a time it has first despoiled these industrious tribes of the proceeds of the toil and thrift on which the Empire subsisted. When beggared, unarmed, helpless, and incapable of self-support or defense, it has taken from them the ordinary protection of law, denied them the common rights of trial for which Governments exist, and flung them instead into a Mohammedan saturnalia in which nothing was forbidden but humanity, and nothing rewarded but ferocity.

Masters of Cruelty.

No cruelty that could be practiced was omitted by these masters of the art. Fathers, husbands, friends were slowly and systematically done to death, while their wives, sisters and daughters were compelled to witness their sufferings. Wives were outraged in the presence of their husbands; sisters, of their brothers; maidens, of their agonized mothers. Women with child were ripped up by a demon soldiery, with bets among them on the sex of the unborn infants. With grim ingenuity these demons practiced an economy in their art which tortured the poor sufferers out of life slowly inch by inch and drop by drop, every inch in agony, every drop the quintessence of some ingenious torture.

As for the forms of law, none were thought of until it became important for the Porte to put a decent face on the terrible proceedings of its officers. Districts were laid waste, villages were burned, but pillaged first, of course. The Armenian population of thriving provinces fled in terror across the border to Russia or to Persia. At Erzurûm, Bitlis, Trebizond, Erzingan, it was the soldier and the official who led on the fray.

At Harpût, Urfa, Cesarea and elsewhere, it was the fanatic population let loose to plunder, torture, rape and work their brutal will on Christians, from whose property and person the

protection of the civil law was removed. Probably seventy-five thousand Christian corpses lie mouldering in the glens, and around the once happy villages of Anatolia ; and, among them all, happy were the men who met their fate without torture, and the women who met it without outrage.

The best impression of what it was comes to us from a woman who, frenzied by her sufferings, but still clinging to the drifting wrecks of faith, is reported to have cried among her kindred that God himself had gone mad, and that maniacs and demons were ranging the earth.

Deliberate Murder.

Never before in the history of cruelty has the Government of a country thus reversed its functions, systematically, and with cool deliberation invoked such agencies for the predetermined extirpation of its population. Roman rigor was not equal to this in its proceedings against the Christian faith. The martyrs of Lyons had nothing like this to confront. Deportation is bad enough ; but when before in the history of man has the deportation of a people been committed to fierce Kurds, hanging on the flanks of the fugitives to plunder the men and outrage the women as many times as a fresh band might assail them ?

One of the worst features of religious persecution has always been that it subjected the morally best, most refined, intelligent, pure and sensitive people in the community to be treated as the worst.

Never before has the world had such an example of this as now. With cool and predetermined purpose, intelligent, thrifty and morally sensitive people have been thrust into the most infamous relations. The rich are systematically beggared and left to sufferings more cruel than death. Teachers, scholars, ministers of religion, missionaries and people of

refined life and character are submitted to the brutal rigor and infamous demoralization of Mohammedan prisons. Mothers have been compelled to witness with their own eyes the outrage of daughters whom they have been training in Christian purity. Women not trained for the Turkish seraglio nor to set a low price on a woman's honor, but to rate it as dearer than life, have been violated in the open sight of day, on the public highway, and in the company of brutal men.

Worst of all, these things are done in an age of light whose pulses are full of mercy and whose every policy is peace, done too with every feature of mediæval brutality brutalized, with fury infuriated, and license libertinized, done with glee and gloating, in bold demoniac defiance of the light that shines, the right that rules, the ideas that dominate the moral world for Turk and Christian, done with cold deliberation and persistent purpose against the protest of the Christian world, and with neither war nor rebellion to excuse them.

And now the last step in this incomparable history of horrors adds an infinite hypocrisy to the infinite atrocity of it all. The Sultan rises to disclaim his deeds, and do homage to the humanities he has outraged as they were never outraged before.

CHAPTER XX.

Russia and Turkey.

BY CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D.,

Formerly Missionary in Turkey and Founder of Robert College, Constantinople.

WHEN Ivan III. married Sophia, niece of Constantin Palæologus, the last Emperor of Constantinople, he claimed to be the rightful heir to the Byzantine throne and adopted its symbol, the double-headed eagle. This was in 1472, and during all these four hundred years Russia has kept her eye upon Constantinople.

In 1492 Ivan III. wrote a letter to Sultan Bajazet complaining of certain acts of injustice to Russian merchants. In 1495 he sent an Ambassador to Bajazet and ordered him not to bow the knee to the Sultan or permit any other ambassador to have precedence. Thus began with offensive arrogance a diplomatic intercourse of four hundred years which has become more polished, but not less imperious and aggressive. Then Ivan claimed only 37,000 square leagues, or 273,000 square miles. The Czar now claims 8,644,000, with a population of 102,000,000 (1880).

The first conflict of arms occurred in 1569, and was significant of all the future between Russia and Turkey. Sokolli, the very able and enterprising Grand Vizier of Selim II., undertook to open a water communication between the Black Sea and the Caspian through the Sea of Azof and the rivers Don and Volga. These two great rivers approach each other

within thirty miles, and then the Volga turns to the Caspian and the Don to the Sea of Azof.

Sokolli had a powerful army, but the Russians fell upon him and routed his army at Astrakhan and his army and workmen on the Don. Russia thus struck a fatal blow to one of the grandest schemes for the expansion and strength of the Turkish Empire. The canal of only thirty miles then projected remains unaccomplished to this day. More than eighty years passed before another armed conflict occurred.

A Decline Past Remedy.

The decline of the great empire was very rapid. The English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (1622), declared that corruption, venality, oppression and poverty, the wasting of the population and signs of anarchy proved the condition of things to be past remedy. It is just so now after 274 years.

The destruction of the great Turkish army before Vienna, 1683, and the disorder which followed gave Russia an opportunity for war, which she improved, and wrested some important places from the Porte. She had been for a long time successful in stirring up war between Turkey and Austria and Turkey and Poland, being equally satisfied with the weakening of either party. After disastrous battles by sea and land with Venice, Austria and Poland the celebrated treaty of Carlowitz was signed (1699). England, Holland, Venice, Poland, Austria, Russia and the Porte were concerned in it. Austria, Venice and Poland were strengthened by it. Russia captured Azof and the shores of the Euxine. Turkey diminished and weakened. Since then Turkey has been a center of diplomatic war to the European nations, but all fear of her as a military power ceased. From that time Russia comes forward as the crafty and persistent enemy of Turkey and the claimant of Constantinople.

Peter the Great now began to rouse the Moldavians and Wallachians to revolt, and he declared himself the friend and defender of all the members of the Greek Church. He easily found occasion to declare war with Turkey. It was a strange fortune for Peter to be caught in a position so commanded by the Grand Vizier that he could neither fight nor escape, and must have surrendered at discretion; but the jewels of the Empress bribed the Vizier to make peace. Thus Peter the Great escaped. He was making vast preparations to break the treaty when he died (1736).

Seeds of Evil to Turkey.

War again, fierce and bloody, with victories and defeats on both sides, but with a great preponderance of loss to the Turks, ended in the peace and treaty of Kainardji. Its XIV. sections are too long to be discussed here. They were full of the seeds of evil to Turkey. Von Hammer calls it "the commencement of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, at least in Europe" (1774). Europe exulted in this crowned glory of Russia and degradation and humiliation of the Great Sultan.

Russia soon broke the treaty and subjugated the Crimea, whose independence she had guaranteed. She declared, however, that she did it solely for the good of the people. She destroyed many thousands of the Moslems in the most ruthless massacres. Seventy thousand Armenians also, who would not join the Russian Church, were driven out into Turkey in a severe winter, and nearly all perished by the way. In 1779 a modification of the treaty of Kainardji was made to suit the Czar and further humiliate the Sultan.

After another fierce war the treaty of Jassy, 1792, gave Russia more territory and Turkey less; but the Empress Catherine only regarded it as furnishing an opportunity to

make final and decisive preparation to take the great capital and place one of the royal family of Russia on the throne. Death interrupted her plans and saved Constantinople.

The Treaty of Bucharest, 1812, closed another conquering war. Moldavia and Wallachia that had been occupied by Russia were given back to Turkey, who engaged to regard all the obligations of previous treaties toward Russia. Russia was called off by European wars and had need of all her troops. Turkey would always "keep" for any occasion.

The next important treaty between Russia and Turkey was that of Adrianople. The Sultan had lost his fleet at Navarino, and had destroyed his Janizaries; Russia pounced upon him to destroy him. But the new recruits fought with such desperation, that the campaign of 1828 was a failure. In 1829 Diebitsch, with overwhelming force, crossed the Balkans and took Adrianople. A very damaging treaty was imposed upon Mahmoud while the Russian army was wasting away with cholera or plague at such a fearful rate that, had the Sultan delayed two weeks, he might have imposed conditions. He had to pay an indemnity of \$25,000,000 and grant Russia whatever privileges she asked.

The Pasha of Egypt gave Russia the next good chance of contact with Turkey. His war-like son, Ibrahim, had conquered Syria, and had united Asia Minor triumphantly. The Sultan called upon England for help, but her eyes were holden that she could not see. Russia jumped at the chance, entered the Bosphorus and landed an army on the Asiatic shore to defend Constantinople. The treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi followed, and Turkey became little more than a vassal of the Czar. By successive and bloody wars and successive and skillful treaties she had made her gradual approaches until no liberty of movement in foreign affairs was left.

England, France and Austria viewed this progress of Rus-

sia with alarm; and when the Czar declared his intention to administer upon the estate of "the sick man," they, with Sardinia, united against him—Austria holding a semi-neutral ground.

The result of the Crimean war need not be remarked upon. England triumphed at Sebastopol, and Russia at the Peace of Paris. Louis Napoleon, who had no honest streak in his character, betrayed the allies and united with Russia to secure absolute freedom of reform to Turkey, which was to make reform impossible.

Beaten and Disorganized.

Ten years more passed—a long space for Russia not to be at war with Turkey—and the Servian war of 1876 led to the Russo-Turkish war, in which the Turkish armies were beaten and disorganized, and Russia marched to the confines of Constantinople. She had at length the long-coveted prize in her grasp; but the Congress of Berlin wrested it from her, made Bulgaria, Servia and Bosnia free, and left the Armenians to the tender mercies of the Turk.

One thing should be considered in all this marvelous history of aggression and increasing strength on one side, of growing weakness and ruin on the other: Russia has attained her ends by the power of gold as much as by arms. She has always a large party openly or secretly in favor of her plans. She has always opposed every reform which England has inaugurated. Lord Stratford De Redcliffe was more than a match for her, but with that one exception England's attempts to strengthen Turkey have been notorious failures. Russia's labors to weaken her have been a notorious success. The result is Turkey is now in the hands of Russia. Europe looks on and thinks.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Tyrant Turk and the Craven Statesmen.

BY FRANCES E. WILLARD.

AN ancient nation is being slowly slaughtered at the foot of Mt. Ararat, fifty thousand victims stretched out under God's sky in the slow cycle of a year; women, pure, devout and homely, suffering two deaths—a living and a dying death; little children poised on the bayonets of Moslem soldiers, villages burned, and starvation the common lot.

On the other hand, Christian Europe, with seven millions of soldiers who take their rations and their sacrament regularly; statesmen who kneel on velvet cushions in beautiful cathedrals, and pray, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord;" diplomatists who can "shape the whisper of a throne" and shade the meaning of an Ultimatum; but neither statesman, diplomat nor soldier has wit, wisdom or will to save a single life, shelter a single tortured babe, or supply a single loaf of bread to the starving Christians on the Armenian hillsides: "vested interests" are against it, "the balance of power" does not permit it, the will of the Sultan is the only will in the Empire of Turkey, and all the wills of all the Christian nations cannot move it one hair.

The Turk is a savage, while the statesmen are—over-civilized; he is a tyrant, while they are—craven cowards.

Meanwhile, a star moves toward the East; it caught its light from the Star of Bethlehem. One woman, well-nigh seventy years of age, takes her life in her hands and goes

forward to the rescue ; she goes to bind up wounds, to give out bread, to light the fires on blackened hearthstones, to put hope into broken hearts. She is a greater power to-day for God and Brotherhood than all the statesmen, diplomatists and soldiers. The world's eyes follow her with love, they cannot see her plainly for tears.

Did our Heavenly Father overrule the wickedness of leaders to put before humanity an object lesson, on the broadest scale, of the futility of force and the omnipotence of Love?

CHAPTER XXII.

International Politics at Constantinople.

BY GEORGE WASHBURN, D.D.,

President of Robert College, Constantinople.

CONSTANTINOPLE has been the great battle-ground of European diplomacy. England was the first in the field. The occasion of her action was the destruction of the Armenian villages and the massacres of many of the people in the Kurdish mountains near Sassûn, in August and September, 1894. The facts were denied by the Turkish Government, and she demanded an investigation and such reforms as should insure the safety and well-being of the Armenians. She invited Russia and France to unite with her in securing both these ends. They consented. Italy expressed a wish to join them, but this offer was declined. Austria and Germany were not invited, and did not wish to be, as they had no interest in Asiatic Turkey.

England, France and Russia worked together in apparent harmony, secured a Turkish commission of investigation and appointed their own delegates to oversee its action. This Commission, appointed in November, 1894, continued its sittings until July, 1895, and a report of its doings has just been published in an English Blue Book. Meanwhile, the English, Russian and French ambassadors devoted their attention to the elaboration of a scheme of reforms for the six provinces in which the Armenians were most numerous. This was completed and presented to the Sultan as the minimum of

reforms which the three Powers could accept, and his immediate acceptance of them demanded. This was in May, 1895. After a delay of more than two weeks, the Sultan returned an evasive and unsatisfactory answer. Up to this point the three Powers seem to have worked together in harmony. The other Powers, when appealed to by the Sultan, declined to interfere.

Three Powers Opposed to Coercion.

The question then arose what was to be done. Should these demands be presented as an ultimatum, and the Sultan be forced to accept them and carry them out? or should they be left where they were as so much good advice, which he might take or reject? England was in favor of coercion, but Russia and France opposed it. Just at this time the Liberal Government in England resigned; the Conservatives came in, with a practical interregnum until after the elections in July. Lord Salisbury took up the question as he found it. Russia and France persisted in their refusal to admit of the use of force, and gave this assurance to the Sultan. Still the three Powers pressed their demands diplomatically, and the English fleet came into the vicinity of the Dardanelles.

Germany expressed her sympathy with the Sultan, but still advised him to come to terms with the three Powers. At the end of September came the outbreak at Constantinople and the massacre of some two hundred Armenians in the streets. Three weeks later the Sultan accepted, with some unimportant modifications, the scheme of reforms presented to him in May, and here ended the alliance of England, France and Russia. There had been no real harmony between them for some time. Russia and France remained in it, not to help the Armenians, but to control the action of England, and, if possible, prevent her sending her fleet to Constantinople. Still there was no positive, acknowledged break.

Meanwhile there had been massacres at Trebizond, Ak Hissar, Baiburt, Giumushkhane, Erzincan, Diarbekir, and other places, which showed that the situation was far more grave than any one in Europe had supposed. The excitement in England was intense. It was believed that there was a deliberate purpose to exterminate the Armenians, and the English Government believed that armed intervention was necessary to dethrone the Sultan, or at least to limit his power. Exactly what happened between the first of October and the middle of November between the Great Powers we do not know. There is reason to believe that Germany proposed to England to join the Triple Alliance, in which case the four Powers would go to Constantinople together.

The Policy of Do-Nothing.

England refused, and Germany resented it, and threw all her influence into the scale with Russia. At this point was formed the Concert of the Six Powers, which was simply a mutual agreement that no Power should act independently, and all the fleets gathered in the Ægean to watch each other. By the end of December it was evident that nothing would be done, and one by one they stole silently away, leaving the Sultan apparently master of the situation. There is no doubt that all through the year the Sultan showed consummate skill in this diplomatic conflict, and a better knowledge of the situation than most of the statesmen concerned in it.

Technically he won the battle. England has been beaten and humiliated, and the Sultan is in close alliance with Russia, France and Germany, stronger, if he can trust his allies, than ever before. The Continental Governments have had a perfectly free hand in this conflict, because there has been no popular feeling of sympathy for the Armenians. The Continental press has either ignored the massacres, or represented

them as due to the revolutionary spirit of the Armenians. "Anyway," they have said, "who are the Armenians? What interest have we in these Asiatics?"

But can the Sultan trust his allies? In fact he has but one; France and Germany are simply bidding against one another for the friendship of Russia, and follow her lead at Constantinople. The real victor in this conflict is not Turkey, but Russia—who has played the part of a disinterested friend of the Sultan so well that she has, for the first time in history, driven England off the field, and become the sole protector of the Ottoman Empire, thus realizing the dream of centuries. The first result of this triumph is a close alliance of Russia with Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro, and the overthrow of Austrian influence in the Balkan Peninsula, to be consummated this week at Sofia.

Supremacy of Russia.

Russia is now supreme in this part of the world, and can do what she pleases. What she will do with her newly-acquired influence remains to be seen. She will do nothing for the Armenians. That is certain. She has not professed any interest in them. She has before her three possible courses of action from which she must choose one. She may seize upon the present opportunity, the best she has ever had, to come to Constantinople, first, perhaps, as the friend and supporter of the Sultan; but, anyway, come to stay.

The alliance with the Balkan States makes this easy, even if the Sultan should be inclined to resist. But he will not. It is only necessary to stir up serious trouble in Constantinople to make the coming appear as a friendly act of a trusted ally. If no effort is made to put a stop to the troubles in the interior or here, this will be an indication that this plan is in favor at the Russian Embassy here, if not at St. Petersburg,

and may be realized soon. I do not think that either France or Germany would object. Austria is powerless by herself. Italy would be glad to resist, but could not. England is doing her best now to persuade herself that she cares nothing for Constantinople.

What may Happen.

The second possibility for Russia is to make her alliance with Turkey and the Balkan States as agreeable to them as possible, to do her best to restore and preserve order, and with them as allies to guard her rear and flank, to attack Austria and bring all the southern Slavs under her own rule, or at least under her protection. This is the dream of the Pan-Slavists, who are the strongest and most active party in Russia. This would mean a general European war; for Germany and Italy are bound by treaty to defend Austria from any such attack. France would improve her opportunity to recover Alsace and Lorraine. England pretends to believe that the old Austrian Alliance is no longer of any value to her, but the chances are that she would become involved in such a war.

The third possibility for Russia is to maintain the present state of things here, to continue to play with France and Germany, giving encouragement to both, and securing the aid of both to destroy English influence in China, and to gain a commanding position there herself, with some compensation to France and Germany. This might lead to a war with England.

It is plain that Russia cannot do more than one of these things, and to decide which is the most desirable and practicable will demand the highest statesmanship. My own opinion is that no deliberate choice will be made, but that, as in most Russian affairs, the decision will be left to chance, and be

determined by some accident, by a massacre in Constantinople, by some resentful action on the part of Austria in connection with the Balkan States, or by some event in the far East. Russia is never in a hurry. The Czar has determined to have grand coronation ceremonies in May, and will hardly be inclined to stir up trouble anywhere before that time.

This is the outlook at present. I am not a prophet to foretell what is to come in the future, and I know very well that nothing is more uncertain than the ways of European diplomacy. The Great Powers have, each of them, some general ideas of what they consider to be their interests. Each has a policy of some kind. But now that the telegraph has put an end to all independent action on the part of ambassadors, and everything is managed by the foreign ministers—diplomacy has become a hand-to-mouth affair.

Uncertainties of the Situation.

There is very little planning for the future. It has become an axiom that it is time enough to meet a difficulty when it arises. Nothing is more difficult than to get an ambassador, or a foreign minister even, to express an opinion on what he would do under given circumstances next week. He is only too happy if he can get through the troubles of to-day. In addition to this there are special reasons for uncertainty at the present time in the character of those who control the action of the Great Powers. The Sultan, to begin with, has proved himself to be one of the boldest and most skillful diplomats in Europe; and his point of view is so totally different from that of Christian rulers that no one can calculate in what direction it will lead him.

The Emperor of Russia is a weak man, little inclined to rule and liable to be influenced now by one party and now by another. The Emperor of Germany is an enigma—some say

a genius, some say a madman—at any rate, he is hasty in his decisions and has the most absolute confidence in himself. France has no stable government, and no able statesman. She is at the mercy of demagogues. The wisest sovereign in Europe is the Emperor of Austria; but he may die any day, and his successor is a stick. Lord Salisbury was described by Bismarck as not a man of iron, but a man of wood covered with tin plates; and his conduct of the Armenian question has seemed to justify this view.

The English Premier Lost his Opportunity.

Certainly he had the game in his own hands up to the last of November, and if he had had the courage to order the fleet to force the Dardanelles and come to Constantinople he would have won the day and gained the place now held by Russia, whose complete triumph is not due to any superior skill in diplomacy either here or at St. Petersburg, but simply to Lord Salisbury's lack of courage to do what he wished to do.

With such elements of uncertainty in the methods of diplomacy and in the men who direct it, it would be folly to venture upon any predictions for the future. Things may drift on for months or years very much as they are to-day, or some unforeseen incident may change the *whole face* of Europe.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Blot on the Century.

BY FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D.,

President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.

THE Armenian problem is by no means a new one, though it has reached its acute stages only within the last three years. Had there been no atrocities in Sivas and Harpût, no massacres in Marash and Cesarea, there would still be abundant reason for the indignant remonstrance of the civilized world, and for the interference of the Great Powers in behalf of long-suffering Armenia.

The rule of the Turk is hopelessly and remedilessly bad wherever that rule extends. The mildew and blight of his occupation are found wherever the Star and Crescent wave. Just as truly as in the olden days, destruction and desolation were left in the wake of the victorious "horse-tails" of the triumphant Sultans, so now desolation and destruction are left in the retreating wake of the decadent and conquered Sultan.

The history of six hundred years teaches us that it is of little use to talk about mending the reign of the Turk. There is nothing left but to end it. To mend it is out of the question; to end it is the only hope for Moslem and Christian alike who dwell within the Sultan's domains.

We hear less about the tribulations of the Syrians and the Arabs of Palestine and other parts of the Levant than of the dreadful fate of the Armenians: but their troubles are none

the less real, even if they do not so much excite the horror of the civilized world.

Throughout a large section of the fairest part of the earth's surface business enterprise and intellectual progress, to say nothing of religious freedom, have long been dead. In the fair lands which border on the Mediterranean, lands which should be the garden spots of the earth, there is, and has been for many generations, poverty, wretchedness and squalor, which can hardly be credited in lands that are better governed.

Naturally the character of the people has deteriorated, and a hopeless fatalism or cunning mendacity, which seeks to win by deceit what it cannot gain by fairer methods, has become characteristic of the people. In fact, whether we consider the character of the people, the soil on which they live, the houses that cover them, or the institutions by which they are misgoverned, we find that the trail of the Turk is over them all.

The traveler through Palestine cannot but be impressed by these facts ; still more he who takes the overland journey across Asia Minor, where the Turk has had more full and undisputed sway.

Great Natural Resources.

He will find himself in a land of great natural resources and large possibilities ; a land with a fertile soil, and exhaustless mines of precious metals ; a land of rushing rivers and bold and rugged mountain scenery. When the Turk is deposed and some decent Government establishes its sway in Asia Minor, we shall read of Cook's Parties and Gaze's Tourists in the magnificent land of the Taurus. The Cilician gates will be open to the traveler, though for many years they have been practically closed by the inefficient shiftlessness of a Government which taxes the people to death for roads which are never built, and bridges which are never constructed.

Then the mines which, with their hidden treasures, have been sealed to all enterprise, will pour their wealth into the world's coffers. But now the Turk reasons, with characteristic phlegm, that so long as the mines are undisturbed the wealth of the nation is intact, and he does not propose to allow outer barbarians to come in and open up mines and cart off his treasures of gold and silver. This is carrying the stocking-leg theory of finance to its absurdest limits. To be sure the traveler finds one feeble, struggling little railway on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from Mersin to Adana, a distance of about forty miles. It was built by foreign capital, however, and is managed by foreign enterprise, and has been hampered and taxed almost off the face of the earth by the ruling Turk.

Difficulties of Travel.

There is also a passable wagon-road for Turkey for a few miles from Tarsus toward the Cilician gates; but this passable road soon runs into an almost impassable cart-track, the cart-track degenerates into a camel path, and though the camel path does not exactly "run up a tree," it seems to lose itself when it gets to the most inaccessible portions of the Taurus Mountains, or at least is fit only for the sure-footed "ships of the desert" that continually traverse it with their swaying loads and their tinkling bells. The only bridges in many parts of the country are those built by the Romans eighteen hundred years ago so substantially and so scientifically that the war of the elements and the neglect of the Turk for twenty centuries has not been able to destroy them.

It should be said that this road, which starts from Tarsus, comes to light here and there during the hundreds of miles which lie between the birthplace of St. Paul and the ancient city of Angora, in old Galatia; but it as often gets lost again

or is obstructed and rendered impassable by falling trees and descending bowlders, which no one has energy enough to move out of the way. And yet this road is the excuse for wringing tens of thousands of pounds every year out of the poverty-stricken inhabitants. To be sure the money is not expended upon the road, and every year it is falling into a more utterly impassable condition; but no matter, it furnishes an excuse for yearly taxes and for more misgovernment.

Stone Huts for Hotels.

There are no hotels in our sense of the word, or inns, even, of the humblest character along this highway, which is the only artery between Constantinople and the Mediterranean ports; but there are stone huts called khans, in which men and bullocks and camels and asses may rest their wearied bodies in delightful promiscuity, while all are impartially attacked by other occupants that are not recorded in the census, and are not registered upon the books even of a Turkish khan.

For much of the distance along this highway every tree and shrub and root has been plucked up to furnish a little scanty fuel for the shivering inhabitants. The broad stretches of tableland, naturally fertile, are so poorly tilled with the rude implements of the past, that only a scanty population can be maintained, and these at "a poor dying rate," where millions might thrive under a good Government.

The villages in the interior are, for the most part, built of sun-dried mud, though sometimes of stone, and are filthy and squalid beyond all description—dead sheep and donkeys and camels lying in the streets. I have myself counted in one street of a little village more than a dozen dead animals, which the inhabitants were too unenterprising to bury or to haul away.

Very naturally, all enterprise and energy are killed out of such a people by hundreds of years of misrule and oppression. Why should a man strive to get on in the world, when he knows that he will only make himself by his enterprise the special prey of the oppressor? Why should he plant an orchard of superior fruit, when he knows the tax-gatherer will get the best of it? Why should he try to improve his worldly condition in any way, when he knows that unless he can cover up his wealth and simulate poverty, he will but become the target for every corrupt and unscrupulous official?

A Land Picked to the Bone.

The land of Turkey has been picked bare; even the pin feathers of enterprise, if we may be excused the expression, have been singed off by a rapacious officialism during many generations.

And now these centuries of atrocious misrule and almost inconceivable corruption are crowned by the murder and the pillage and the wholesale massacres, which have caused the blood of civilization to run cold, outrages that will mark the years of 1895-96 with such blots as no other years have known for many centuries. Yet the civilized world allows the Great Powers, each disarmed against the Turk by their mutual jealousies, to look on supinely while the butchery in Armenia never ceases. Still, the Queen's speech, read at the opening of Parliament in the year 1896, talks gingerly about the Sultan's promises to institute reforms, while very likely, at the very moment when her speech was read, the Sultan's hirelings were murdering Christians, pillaging their property and firing their villages!

What will our grandchildren think of the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century? How will the people of the happier age which is to come, look back with shuddering

horror, not only upon the deeds enacted in Turkey, but, with scarcely less horror, upon the Christian nations, who, by reason of their insane jealousy of one another, permitted those atrocities, which they might have prevented.

Alas, that this century should be known not only as the century of invention and discovery, of the railway and the steamship, and the telegraph, and the telephone,—the century of religious progress and missionary enterprise,—the century of the Sunday-school, and the young people's movements, but also the century, stained with the deepest dye of Christian blood of which the great Christian Powers can never wash their hands!

God grant that before the record of the century is closed, before the Armenians are utterly exterminated, and no faithful Christians in Asia Minor are left to rescue, Europe and America may awake to their responsibilities and tardily save themselves from the reproachful scorn of future generations.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Armenians—Who are They?

BY JAMES D. BARTON, D.D.,

Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

ACCORDING to Armenian histories, the first chief of the Armenians was Haik, the son of Togarmah, the son of Gomer, the son of Japheth, the son of Noah. It is an interesting fact that the Armenians to this day call themselves Haik, their language "Haiaren" and their country "Haiasdan." "Armenia" and "Armenian" are words which cannot be spelled with Armenian characters or easily pronounced by that people. That name was given them and their country by outside nations because of the prowess of one of their kings, Aram, the seventh from Haik.

Probably this people is composed of the resultant of strong Aryan tribes overrunning and conquering the country now occupied by the Armenians, and which was then possessed by primitive Turanian populations. Subject to the vicissitudes of conquest and invasion, the borders of Armenia have fluctuated. Lake Van has always been within the kingdom, and the capital has usually remained, during their highest prosperity at the city of Van. They have had a long line of kings of valor and renown.

They were an independent nation, but with varying degrees of power, until A. D. 1375, when they became completely a subject people. Since that time their country has been under the Governments of Russia, Persia and Turkey, far the larger portion being in Turkey. During the years of their greatest

prosperity, from 600 B. C. to about 400 A. D., this nation played a prominent part in the wars of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans.

There are, perhaps, from two and a half to three millions of Armenians in Turkey, Russia and Persia. In the absence of accurate records we must be content with a mere estimate, based upon observations and inadequate Government returns. In no extended district do they comprise a majority of the inhabitants. They are everywhere mingled with and surrounded by Kurds and Turks. The Armenians are forbidden to carry or possess arms under severe penalties, while the other races are armed, many of them by the Government.

First Nation to Adopt Christianity.

Armenian histories relate that, soon after the resurrection of Christ, Abgar, the King of Armenia, with his court, accepted Christianity. This was short-lived, however; but in the third century, A. D., under the leadership of Gregory the Illuminator, the Armenian people, as a nation, became Christian. This was the first nation to adopt Christianity as a national religion. The Church was called "Gregorian" by those outside, but "Loosavochagan" by the Armenians, the word meaning "Illuminator," the name given to Gregory. The Gregorians and Greeks worked in harmony in the great councils of the Church until 451. At the fourth Ecumenical Council, which met at Chalcedon that year, the Gregorian Church separated from the Greek upon the so-called Monophysite doctrine, the former accepting and the latter rejecting it. Since then the Gregorian Church has been distinctly and exclusively an Armenian national Church.

The organization and control of the Church is essentially Episcopal. The spiritual head is a Catholicos; but in addition to him there is a Patriarch, whose office bears largely

upon the political side of the national life as related to the Ottoman Government. There are three of the former residing in the order of their importance at Echmiadzin, in Russia; Aghtamar, on an island in Lake Van, and at Sis, in Cilicia, each with his own diocese. There are two of the latter residing at Constantinople and Jerusalem. There are nine grades of Armenian clergy.

The Bible was translated into their language in the middle of the fifth century. Owing to a change in the spoken tongue the Bible became a dead book to the people, although it was constantly read at their church services. As the priests scarcely ever understood the Scripture which they read, Christian doctrines were kept alive by oral teachings; but the restraint upon life which pure Christianity exercises was largely removed. They blindly accept the Bible as the Word of God. They have many large, fine churches, some of which are several hundred years old.

Centuries of Persecution.

This nation has suffered great persecutions for its faith during the last eleven centuries, but with wonderful patience and endurance has clung to the old beliefs and forms of worship. Mission work was begun among them for the purpose of introducing into the Church the Bible in the spoken language of the people, in order that its teachings might reform the Church and the nation.

The Armenian nature is essentially religious. Born into the Church, its customs, traditions and teachings have large influence over the life. Although much of their teachings and many of their customs are based upon mere traditions and are not in accord with the enlightened, educated Christianity of the West, nevertheless the fact that during the last few months thousands among them have deliberately chosen

death, with terrible torture, to life and Islam, shows that among them there exists much essential Christian faith.

It must not be overlooked that the old Church has been greatly enlightened and elevated by the mission schools and colleges planted in their country, and the evangelistic work carried on among them. They, too, in imitation of the evangelical branch of their nation, have organized schools, accepted the Bible in the spoken language, and introduced into their church worship many of the methods of Christian instruction used by the Christian Church all over the world.

An Armenian Proverb.

The Armenians' greatest enemy outside of Islam is their incompatibility of character. They cannot agree among themselves. "*Haik voch miapan*" ("Armenians cannot agree") is one of their many proverbs. This is their national weakness. Owing to this fact, which led to internal jealousies and bickerings and strife, during the period of their most successful national life, they were weakened, then disrupted, and finally completely subjugated. This characteristic has constantly appeared in the management of their ecclesiastical affairs; and the Turks, in order to control them, have made great use of this weakness, playing one party off against another.

The source of this national weakness lies in their jealousy of imagined or actual rivals. Suspicious of each other and jealous of competition, the race has been broken up into factions which has rendered impossible anything like a national growth or unity, and has made it easy for the ruling Turk to keep them in complete subjection. Many times the Armenians themselves have been the most effective instrument in the hands of their diplomatic rulers in checking national progress.

Owing to this fact, if for no other reason, a plan for a general revolution upon the part of the Armenians could lead only to exposure and failure. The most intelligent have from the first fully understood this, and have deprecated any agitation which must necessarily end in disaster. The advocates of revolution have almost invariably been men of narrow views, with no leadership in the nation at large, who have, outside of Turkey, organized rival societies to collect money from credulous Armenians to the credit of their own personal bank account, and for the injury of their protesting people in Turkey. This same characteristic would make it impossible to-day for the Armenians to be self-governing.

The Armenians are the most intelligent of all the people of Eastern Turkey. In Western Turkey their only rivals are the Greeks. They far outclass their Mohammedan rulers in the desire for general and liberal education, and in their ability to attain to genuine scholarship. During the last twenty years few institutions of higher education in the United States and in England have failed to have Armenians among their pupils, and the rank which they have usually taken is most creditable to the race.

The popularity of Euphrates College, in Harpût, and of Central Turkey College, at Aintab, whose students are almost exclusively Armenians, as well as Anatolia College, at Marsovan, and Robert College, at Constantinople, which have many Armenians among their students, taken together with the fact that large sums are paid each year by the people for the education of their sons and daughters, all proves that, in addition to the ability to advance mentally, there is a strong desire upon the part of the Armenians for general enlightenment. Bilingual from childhood, and many of them trilingual, they learn languages easily.

Their general tendency is to prefer metaphysical studies,

being inclined rather to the speculative in their manner of thought. They have taken readily to the idea of female education, and the three colleges for girls in Turkey are among her most popular evangelical institutions. These are largely patronized by the Armenians. This nation has produced many well-known scholars, which fact, taken together with the general high standard of scholarship among her students, and the eager desire prevalent among the people for a liberal education, shows that the race intellectually compares favorably with the most favored nations of the world.

An Enterprising Race.

The Armenians are the farmers, artisans, tradesmen and bankers of Eastern Turkey. They have strong commercial instincts and mature ability, and, being industrious withal, have made much progress in all these lines. In spite of the heavy restrictions placed upon them by the Turkish Government, in the form of general regulations and excessive taxes, in some parts of Turkey the leading business operations are largely in their hands. In some sections of the vilayets of Harpût and Diarbekir, twenty-five years ago, the land was owned almost entirely by Moslems, but rented and farmed by the Armenians.

At that time the Armenians were not permitted to possess, to any extent, the soil. Lack of industry upon the part of the Mohammedans, and the acquirement of property upon the part of the Armenians, largely by emigration to the United States, have led the Turks to sell their ancient estates to Armenians, who are supplied with funds from their friends who are working in this country. The careful management of the property thus acquired led to the advancement of the proprietor farmer, while the one from whom the land was purchased was left without an income.

While the Turks, in many of the principal cities where Armenians dwell, own most of the shops, the renters are largely Armenians. An intelligent Turkish Governor once told the writer that if the Armenians should suddenly emigrate or be expelled from Eastern Turkey, the Moslem would necessarily follow soon, as there was not enough commercial enterprise and ability coupled with industry in the Turkish population to meet the absolute needs of the people.

Readily Adapts Himself.

The Armenian, while industrious and naturally inclined to follow in the footsteps of his father, takes very readily to a new trade. When emigrating to foreign countries he easily adapts himself to his new surroundings and does creditable service in almost any line of work. This adaptability, together with a tendency to hold on to a line once begun, has given a stable character to the nation.

The Armenian is domestic in his habits and aspirations, and not military. In the early history of the race we do not find much written of their conquests. They did not go outside of their borders, as a general thing, to conquer their neighbors. While not lacking in physical courage and prowess in war when called to defend their country against invasion, they did not seek to conquer. Sometimes in driving back an aggressive foe they carried the war into his territory and levied upon it for injuries received; yet it never seems to have been their ambition to be a great nation ruling over conquered races. Their chief ambition appears to have been to possess in quiet their beloved fatherland, "*hairenik*," where they might worship God according to the demands of their own national Church.

To-day they have no desire of conquest or ambition to rule. Their greatest wish is to be permitted to enjoy without

fear the blessing of their simple domestic life, together with the privileges of worship and education and the opportunity to possess in peace the fruits of their frugal industry. The Armenian loves his children and is most closely attached to his home. When he emigrates it is only for the purpose of trade and gain. His heart's affection centers in the old rude home to which he, if unprevented, will return to rejoin his loved ones. In all his native land the city or village of his birth is the dearest spot on earth.

Habits and Characteristics.

The Armenians are most simple and frugal in their manner of life. Uncomplaining and generally cheerful, they continue their occupations, following in the footsteps of their fathers without desire for change. The son of the carpenter is a carpenter content with the adz and saw, and the shoemaker sticks to his last without a thought of being anything else so long as that trade serves him. The home life is patriarchal, the father ruling the household, and the sons bringing their wives to the paternal roof.

In the event of the death of the father the oldest son takes his place at the head of the family. The aged are held in high esteem, and their counsel sought and honored. The women occupy inferior positions, the nation copying many customs in regard to them from the Turks among whom they live. They are not an immoral race, but are inclined to drink wine which is a cheap product of their country.

Thus we have a race old in national history when Alexander invaded the East; and with its star of Empire turning toward decline when the Cæsars were at the height of their power; a nation not mingling in marriage with men and women of another faith and blood now as pure in its descent from the undiscovered ancestors of nearly three decades of

centuries ago as the Hebrews stand unmixed with Gentile blood ; with a language, a literature, a national Church, distinctively its own, and yet a nation without a country, without a government, without a protector or a friend in all God's world.

This is not because it has sinned, but because it has been terribly sinned against; not because of its intellectual or moral or physical weakness, but because it has little to offer in return for the service, which the common brotherhood of man among nations should prompt the Christian nations of the world to render.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Turkish Question in Germany.

BY THE COUNTESS VON KROCKOW.

WAS it Lord Palmerston who said of the Schleswig-Holstein war, now over thirty years ago, that nobody understood the cause of it but himself, and he was not sure? I remember reading the anecdote and retain this gist of it, which is, as it seems to me, the gist of a large number of political problems, the Turkish question included, although few statesmen are so outspoken as to own their ignorance and confusion in the face of it.

In Germany, during the recent disturbances in the Ottoman Empire, no one even set up as a seer; nor did any one go so far as to try to demonstrate the enormity of the crimes going on, as was the case in America and England, or denounce them, as did Gladstone, with weight and power. Not only light was conspicuously wanting, but passion likewise. The young Emperor, who is superficially considered a hot-headed champion in all current matters, was silent upon this. None of the many words which he uttered in public was spent on the massacres of Armenian Christians.

What went out of his Cabinet to the press of the country was ambiguous or cynical in tone. The people were left without any clear or sharp impression either as to what was desired by the Ministry or what was being pursued by it. Its inaction during most of the time, its cross-actions on occasion—as when it refused to support England and Russia in the

request to the Porte to permit extra vessels of war to enter the Bosphorus—its evident intriguing as time went on, alone gave the people a hint that its policy was, for the present at least, a policy of non-intervention.

Political Parties in Germany.

Why this policy was adopted, native Germans understand as little as foreigners understand it. They are as much in the dark over the attitude taken by His Majesty's Government as outsiders are. In the Imperial Diet no interpellation has been made on the subject; and if one were ever proposed, it has been suppressed before it reached a stage that rendered the proposition a fit subject for public attention or scandal. Very probably no such proposition was ever broached or supported. For who should make it save the Opposition? And what does the Opposition consist of in Germany? Of Socialists and Liberals, or of men who are opposed by principle to war and State religions, and of the advocates of trade.

When the impulsive public in America feel moved to wonder over the apathy of the Germans before this grave and horrible spectacle going on in the Christian East, they should recall to mind, in order the better to apprehend it, certain far-reaching historical facts. Among these facts, for example, is the important one of religion having taken on the form of an established Church and, in the main, this Church has been subservient through its ministers to the powers that be. Now these latter powers were, until a recent period, many and oppressive. Hence, when antagonism raised itself, it raised itself against both the State and the Church.

There are six million Socialists in Germany—working men and women, factory hands, artisans, petty burghers, the poor and ill-to-do of many classes; and this vast factor in the population disparage contesting with the brutal might of arms

over religion, and, in the Turkish question, which is largely a matter of religion, they logically express deprecation of both contestants—Christians and Mussulmans. The Evangelical Synod in Berlin expels a pastor (the Rev. Dr. Naumann) for advocating Social Reform through Socialistic means; in response, the Socialistic multitude point in derision to holy synods that go further, and, for a difference in doctrinal opinion, cause the exile of whole communities, or their torture and death, cause a Turkish question with all that it implies!

Sympathy for Armenians.

There is indubitably private, intense sympathy among this class for the sufferers in Armenia; but publicly and officially all expression of it is excluded. The Socialists this very year have been schooled and trained in repression of natural feeling; they took no part in the jubilations over the establishment of the Empire and the commemoration of the victory of Sedan; much less, therefore, could their leaders call upon them to take part in our foreign contests. And without Socialists and their families, who compose in every large city the bulk of the street population, how were the German mass-meetings, that Englishmen and Americans have missed, to take place?

The Church, the press, I hear my reader exclaiming, have they no bowels? Is everything in the hands of Socialists?

It would be absurd of me to pretend to know the reasons for the attitude of the Church; or, indeed, of any one of the great organizations that I am passing in review in treating of the question that interests us. I take the opportunity here of stating that all my explications are mere attempts to account for the apathy which constitutes the characteristic demeanor of Germans towards the Turkish troubles. If single clergymen here and there throughout the country have lifted up their voices in protest against this apathy, their pro-

testations have been without great effect. This is all that a private observer of affairs, like myself, can affirm with safety.

It is common for the Church, as a body, not to run counter to the Government; and the Government's position of neutrality once having become evident, it would have been unprecedented for the Church to have opposed this policy by actively striving to arouse the public conscience to antagonism against it. In being subject to the State, the Church is practically on all occasions subject to the governmental will; and what may be called the Non-conformist body of Christians in Germany have nothing like the vigor and public spirit of English Non-conformists. I would like to leave this chapter to more competent hands. As a layman, the thought suggests itself, And are not clergymen also citizens and susceptible to the drifts of political loves and enmities, like other men?

Why Germany Hesitates.

For here must be mentioned another powerful cause of German hesitation in taking the part of their oppressed fellow-Christians in Armenia—the hatred of England. The Turkish question cannot be settled for good and all except by means of war and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; and who, in case of such dismemberment, would have the gain? Why at present, whatever other countries might secure, Great Britain would be certain to obtain the lion's share. And Bismarck has taught Germans not to approve of England increasing her territorial possessions; his warnings, his work, his political testament were both openly and secretly against such increase.

The interruption in this long and steady policy, caused by the young Emperor's wilfulness, was an episode. It was already passed when the reconciliation of the Monarch and the retired Chancellor took place in 1894. German dispar-

agement of England became vehement after that incident. It had been cultivated into being during Bismarck's régime. The Emperor's telegram to President Krüger was, to the initiated, much more than a personal impulse; it was an expression of popular feeling, and a betrayal (over-hasty) of a fixed policy—of a policy that embraces, in German opinion, a portion also of the Turkish question.

"What call has the Fatherland to scorch itself in drawing chestnuts out of the fire for England?" was a phrase that could be read in many newspapers when the probability or the chances of a war were discussed. And although it was intimated that the astute Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, would know how to win some compensation for Germany's aid in such a war, still it was calculated that these winnings would be less than could be demanded later when the power of Greater Germany (the Fatherland and its colonies) should have had time to become consolidated.

The action of the German Government in the China-Japan war, through which, by supporting Russia in exerting a pressure on Japan, Germany had secured, without cost or trouble, two Chinese islands for coaling stations, seemed to point to a plan and continuity in the imperial foreign policy. "Let the present disturbances be used on our side to push our commercial interests," wrote the editor of the *National Liberal News* of Dresden. "We have no political interests in the Turkish question. Germany is friendly to the Sultan, and our merchants will be welcomed by Mussulman traders who have sufficient cause to withdraw their business from the hands of the brow-beating English to give it to their well-wishers."

The trade returns will have to be studied, I fancy, by every historian who sets himself to ferreting out the causes and results of Germany's policy in the Turkish-Armenian trouble.

If Germans were as accustomed as are English men and women to look over the field of the Government's colonial work and were become familiar with the condition of foreign peoples, and were schooled in the sentiment of "fair play;" if, in a word, Germans were as public-spirited as are the populations of Great Britain and America, their voice would be lifted aloud as are the voices of English-speaking peoples against the wrongs and persecution of the Armenians.

But, as matters necessarily are, the really knowing ones consist largely of members of corporations engaged in foreign enterprises, and these naturally have an eye chiefly for the opportunity which circumstances present them with, for increasing business. And the Government only follows the precedent which Great Britain has given the world for two centuries, when it strenuously supports them.

Finally, the attitude of Russia must be regarded when a reason is looked for to explain Germany's non-enforcement of the Berlin Treaty. The taking part against England involves an advocacy of England's enemy, Russia, and this enemy is Germany's neighbor. History tells us how Prussia has ever been forced to fawn upon this terrible colossus, and the maintenance of this traditional relationship is as much a need of the new Empire as ever it was of the little Electorate of Brandenburg and Kingdom of Prussia; indeed, since the war of 1870-'71 with France, and the French threats of revenge, the need is become absolutely imperative.

Germany would be between an upper and nether millstone if it stood between the ponderous enmity of the Czar as well as the fretting wrath of France. Hence the last words of warning of the old Emperor, which doubtless have been ringing in the ears of the statesmen in Berlin whenever they discussed the Turkish question: "Keep on good terms with Russia."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Turkish Oppression.

BY HERANT MESROB KIRETCHJIAN,

General Secretary of the Armenian Relief Association.

“THE oppressive character of the Government of the Turkish Empire with respect to the subject races,” is a very clear declaration on the part of the editor of *The Independent* of the situation in the country known as the Turkish Empire. It is a character that is important; it is an actually existing Government that counts, and the mischievous results of that Government concern the civilized world to-day more in the relation to the “subject races” than the general reformation of that misrule itself. The question is not so complicated as vast; not requiring so much skill in dealing with it as patient study to have a full comprehension of the main factors entering into it as potent influences.

As in a medical examination, so in this, euphony of diction is to be sacrificed to truth; and, first, the “Government of the Turkish Empire,” as it is to-day and has been for 500 years, is only Mohammedan domination with regard to the non-Mohammedan population in the country. Secondly, the “subject races” are only slave population and prisoners of war; and, thirdly, the essential character of that domination over those races has been a thorough and absolute system of oppression.

In entering upon remarks regarding the character of that oppression, it might be necessary to point to the proofs of the above statements regarding the Government itself and the

status of the "subject races." For that part, it is quite sufficient to point to the whole history of the Turkish Government through every step of its settled existence during 500 years. Not very keen insight is necessary, either, but only deliberate study and simple, impartial judgment, to convince any intelligent mind of the justice of the charges.

The character of the oppression of the Turkish Government must be tried by the one test which stands higher than all theory and even logical inferences; by that test which has the stamp of the highest authority and comes with the power of a *prima facie* evidence that compels conviction: "By their fruits, ye shall know them."

Judged by its Fruit.

The timber of the oak is what tells, and we care not so much for the foliage or the acorn. The flower of the rose-bush is enough to satisfy us regarding the result of the gardener's work; but from the orchard we expect fruit, and by its fruit we judge of the value of the husbandman's labor and of the wisdom of his management. A Government is not for exhibition. It is not merely to make history. Before the judgment bar of God and man it is to stand and be judged by the fruit of its influences upon human life; its happiness, its comfort, its development—moral, physical and intellectual. Judged by that standard,

1. The Government of the Turkish Empire, in its relation to the "subject races," is found to be radically and essentially oppressive.

The Turkish Government is based upon the Mohammedan religion, the component elements of which are the Sword and the Koran. While for half a century European diplomats have been deceiving themselves and the civilized world that the Koran could cease to be the law that regulated the move-

ments of the Sword, the events of the past year and a half have proved what the history of the Turkish Government has long ago demonstrated, that the Sword and Koran are united so that nothing but the death of one or the other can put them asunder.

Oppression a Settled Policy.

If the Government of the Turkish Empire could be induced to recognize and permit the development of an "Ottoman Empire" after the type of civilized governments, where the equality of all citizens before the law is the basic principle, oppression in that Government might be treated as a disease; but as the Turkish Empire has always been, and is to-day, a "Mohammedan Empire," oppression of the Christian and the "infidel" in it is a constitutional quality.

For those who have at heart, not only the fate of the Christian races in Turkey, but also the interests of civilization and Christendom at large, this must stand as the most important element in the case, namely, that the Government of the Turkish Empire, when true to itself, and standing upon the ground of its highest efficiency, is by nature destructive of those forces which make for righteousness in this world, and are the foundation of that which is counted by the Aryan races as the highest civilization. All the other characteristics are the outcome of this one essential fact, and will be influenced by the remedy brought to bear upon this root of the evil itself.

2. Turkish oppression is universal. It oppresses the "subject races" in all places and in all their relations. The unalterable disabilities deny them justice in the courts, assuring immunity to the robber and the highwayman and the swindler, if he is only a Mohammedan. The prosperity of the Christian races, merchant and artisan, dependent upon justice and protection, is thus reduced to a deplorable minimum.

Poverty is the highway open before every Christian community; but as taxation, unremitting, unlimited, and merciless, is also the law of the land, the instinct of self-preservation drives them on to labor incessantly in order to remedy the evil as far as possible. In spite of a fertile soil and abundant natural resources, therefore, the "subject races" of the Turkish Empire are under the heel of a grinding oppression.

Without Modern Improvements.

After centuries of honest, toilsome life, in sight of the golden dawn of the world's greatest century, and with the thunder of the chariot-wheels of modern progress in their ears, the Christian "subjects" of the Sultan are there to-day without railroads or even highways, without any "improvements," ancient or modern, in science or art, agriculture or sanitation, with no police and no fire-alarms, no water-works, and no house-lighting or street-lighting system; and as the shadows of evening descend, the entire land from Ararat to the Adriatic sinks into fitful slumber under the black wings of a night of terror and insecurity that best enables weary souls to comprehend the felicity of a hereafter when "there shall be no night there."

The universality of the oppression is also assured by the fact that the Mohammedan of all conditions, however ignorant or dull in other respects, is remarkably well versed in this one doctrine, that he is lord and master while the Christian is the slave, who is to be reminded of his subordinate condition with every opportunity. An intelligent residence of any length of time in Turkey would convince one of this almost astounding fact. The Governor and the Pasha, as true Moslems, have never had scruples in denying justice to the Christian, in receiving bribes from defendant and plaintiff alike, in extending their protection to the murderers

of men and the ravishers of women; but the barbarous Kurds on the mountains, as well as the beggar women in the streets of Constantinople, are just as conscious of their privilege in this direction as the watchful guardians of Turkish law in high places.

On the hills of the Golden Horn, above Balat, on a sunny afternoon, a Protestant minister was out walking with a little girl and her brother. The girl was dressed after the fashion of Europeans, and to guard her eyes from the bright sunlight a green veil covered her face. There were Turkish villages around, and a group of Turkish women were passing by. Suddenly one of them sprang toward the little girl and snatched the veil from her head, and tore it into shreds with ominous mutterings and imprecations. The veil was green, the sacred color of the Mohammedan religion, to be worn only by the highest clergy. How could the child of the accursed "Giaour" dare to go about under its shadow!

Years afterward, far away on the jagged heights of Montenegro, a bridal party of Christians was attacked, as reported by the British Consul, by a band of Turkish ruffians. They cut the bride into pieces, half killed the bridegroom, raised a funeral pyre, and burned the dead and dying under the rays of the setting sun. The bride had worn a green velvet jacket. Away on the mountains of Armenia the Kurdish Chief Genjo, upon the recovery of his son from a fatal malady, went out to seek a thank-offering to the God of Heaven, and the sacrifice he decided upon was the lives of seven Christian priests. Up and down through the length and breadth of the Turkish Empire, at the hands of millions of Mohammedans, universal oppression in every conceivable shape has been the law for the "subject races" of the Turkish Empire.

3. The oppression of the Turk is cumulative. Poverty

and ignorance bring degradation, and degradation hardens human nature; cruelty becomes an instrument, and lust is there as the impelling power. Slowly, steadily, from villages to the city, from the cities to the capital of the Empire, the great tidal waves of cruel oppression have brought devastation through the centuries, and once and again the return current has dashed itself against the highlands of Armenia, as well as the habitations of other Christian races, and opened before the eyes of Christendom ghastly pictures of blood and destruction, that to the minds of the uninitiated have appeared as accidental developments. The forces of this evil are there always, and are constantly accumulating their momentum.

Fanaticism not Uncontrollable.

It is a farce to speak of inability to control fanaticism on the part of the Government or the Sultan of Turkey. It were just as reasonable to speak of the helplessness of the man to avert disaster who loosens a mighty boulder from the mountain heights above his village, or finds the entertainment of a summer day by carving a channel in the dam above the city. Sure enough, the ignorance of the Mohammedan disqualifies him from understanding the science of the correlation of forces in the kingdom of the devil; but of their nature he is not ignorant, and glories in his liberty to set them moving in the midst of the Christian populations of the Empire.

4. And, hence, the greatest evil of Turkish oppression is its far-reaching character. We must admit that there are degrees of sin and evil; that there is a sin against the Spirit which far outweighs many transgressions. The oppression of the Mohammedan Government by its universal, cumulative weight has crushed and is now crushing out those spiritual qualities which make the fiber of true human souls. No one

who believes in the soul of man and its undying worth, could fail to be appalled at the sight of the havoc that has been wrought upon the manhood of the peoples inhabiting Turkey in consequence of Mohammedan oppression.

Degeneration and degradation lose their significance here. It is spiritual contagion; it is intellectual rotteness. From early childhood, thousands of the Christian subjects of the Turkish Government, directly or indirectly in its employ, are led to seek promotion by qualifying to serve men whose business is theft and corruption. A pasha or governor in the interior seeks an accountant or a treasurer, not to render accurate accounts to the Minister of Finance, but to devise ways and means by which both the imperial treasury and the population of the district can be robbed in a manner that will be the least open to detection and the most profitable for the private treasury of the Pasha or the Governor himself.

Thousands of the Christian youths of the land, naturally the most intelligent and capable among them, have been for centuries trained in a school of corruption and villainy, to oppress their own countrymen, as the servile tools of the corrupt officials of the Government. The most approved methods of fraud and bribery, of smuggling and wholesale deceit have, therefore, been at a high premium in the land known as the Turkish Empire, from the morning that the Crescent waved over the walls of the city of Constantine. A lie is disreputable if it fails to deceive. It has the double reward of both remuneration and promotion to higher service if it prevails. How blessed the Christian under-secretaries of the Turkish Foreign Office, when they return with the trophies of the intellectual scalps of the astute diplomats whom Europe sends to Constantinople to fish for facts in the awful maelstrom of falsehoods of Turkish diplomacy!

It is a matter of surprise, indeed, that there are men in

high places of the Christian West who have fallen into the habit of measuring the hideous injustice and oppression of all the Christian races in Turkey, only in a balance where houses, farms, and bodies of men and women can be weighed. We have been asked: "Oh! the condition of the Christians in Turkey is surely not intolerable, except for these occasional massacres, which European diplomacy ought to prevent?" and the answer is: "No, the disasters of fire and sword are nothing compared to the frightful havoc of the souls of men that has been brought with an iron hand and a persistent, unrelenting compulsion upon the Christian races in Turkey."

An Unmitigated Curse.

Turkish government, which is mainly nothing but a colossal avalanche of corruption and sensuality overwhelming the peoples of Turkey, cannot be justly qualified by any definition that falls short of signifying an absolutely unmitigated curse. I am reminded here of the sterling words of the golden-tongued prophet, the noble Gladstone, who stands towering above British mediocrity in these dark days of ours: "This is strong language, gentlemen, but language must be strong where the facts are strong."

We are told that the condition of the Christians in Turkey might be worse; they might have been exterminated. It surely is in order to ask here, Where is the justice of it, when there is help for it? What right has Europe to attend to the balance of power that is kept at the right level by piling high in the pan of the scale, souls of men, both of Turk and Christian, laid low with the contagion of corruption and the rottenness of all iniquity combined, in order that they may serve as dead weights?

And the iniquity of this condition and the awful responsibility at the door of those who are responsible for it, is

enhanced by the fact, that the Christian "subject races" under the Government of the Turkish Empire, have been striving and struggling through all these years of subjection, for a higher manhood, nourished by the abundance of good works, and especially at the touch of Western civilization, have been aspiring for their highest possibilities, as individual men and as nations.

No Hope of Remedy.

This qualification of the oppression of the Turkish Government is especially justifiable and unavoidable, because,

5. An essential factor in the character of the oppression of the Turkish government is its hopelessness. Some one wrote upon a prison wall the gamut of national degeneration. It went down from wealth and pride to war and poverty, and then started on a return tide of industry and prosperity back over the same path. If there is any correctness in this itinerary, it must have counted upon rapid transit not to give time for pride and poverty to leave an impression upon the soul of the nation. The universal, accumulative and all-pervading flood of Turkish oppression has torn up and borne down with it every single anchorage and mooring of virtue and manhood for the ship of State, so that no returning tide is ever possible for it.

Action and reaction, with increasing rapidity even through the past fifty years, have brought disastrous loss in all directions; so that Turkey has to-day less money, less manhood, less wisdom, less patriotism and less confidence in itself. Only one power rises in the midst of universal degeneration, and that is the rampant spirit of desperate and malignant oppression.

In the midst of the colossal calamity of tens of thousands of innocent people murdered in cold blood, villages and cities

laid in ashes, and hundreds and thousands of men, women and children on the verge of starvation and death from exposure to the cold blasts of a highland winter, civilized nations of the world stand appalled and appear to consider the difficulty of the situation as insurmountable. But it is not so. First, there is the hope, if hope it may be called, in the principle that evil destroys itself, while the good rises strong with the power of self-propagation with every morning's sun.

The Woes of the Turk.

The Turk is destroying himself. His government of oppression is as great a curse to himself as to the Christian; and Europe, in permitting and well-nigh supporting that oppression, has been as great a criminal against the Turk as against the Christian. What is wanted, therefore, for the Christian "subject races" in Turkey, languishing under the cruel yoke of this murderous oppression, is *protection*. If the Christian governments of Europe are unwilling as yet to separate the Sword and the Koran, they are surely in honor bound to extend the protection they so easily can extend to the Christian population in the Turkish Empire, and practically isolate the Mohammedan with his Sword and his Koran.

That is the efficient remedy of the situation, and one which, in the name of justice and humanity, honor and civilization, all believers in human rights can demand at the hands of those who have the power to apply it. Pure air and good soil are the best disinfectants. Before the swelling tide of Christian civilization, with its bracing atmosphere of justice and liberty, and the healthful soil of industry and continued well-doing, the Mohammedan oppression will be driven away as the floating clouds and pestilential miasma are blown away before the breath of the mighty North wind, and nature blossoms into full life in the warm light of heaven.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Missionary Work in Turkey.

BY JUDSON SMITH, D.D.,

Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

THE first notice of an intended mission within the limits of the Turkish Empire appears in the Annual Report of the Board for 1819, nine years after the Board was organized. Missionaries of the Board were already at work in India and among the aboriginal tribes of America, and a mission to the Sandwich Islands was under contemplation. In this report the committee dwell upon the reasons for a special interest on the part of Christian people in the re-establishment of pure Christianity in the historic regions honored by the earthly life of our Lord and traversed by His first disciples.

Palestine was the region specially in mind, but the committee recognized the fact that the occupancy of a much wider field was included in the beginning of missionary work in Jerusalem, and the writer of this first report referred to "Smyrna, the provinces of Asia Minor, Armenia, Georgia and Persia, Mohammedan countries, in which, though there are many Jews and Christians, there is still a deplorable lack of Christian knowledge and of Christian life." Before this year had ended, the Rev. Levi Parsons and the Rev. Pliny Fisk were set apart to establish a mission at Jerusalem, and in the following year entered upon their labors, touching at Malta and taking up their residence at Smyrna for a time before they reached their destined field. From these labors, by a process of natural development, missionary work at first

intended for Palestine, afterward set up in the Island of Malta and in Athens, came to take a firm and lasting hold upon the Turkish Empire.

Extension of the Work.

In 1831 work was opened at Constantinople by Dr. Goodell, re-enforced by Dr. Dwight in the following year, and thence gradually it was extended to Smyrna, Brûsa, Trebizond, Erzurûm, Aintab, and so on throughout the entire district of Asiatic Turkey. The aim in the establishment of the original mission in Palestine and in these later stages of missionary work in Turkey, had respect to the entire population of the Empire, and this aim has never for a moment been abandoned or lost sight of, and remains to-day an unfulfilled but inspiring purpose.

Actual missionary work, however, was restricted by the laws of the Empire to the Christian populations, chiefly the Armenians and the Greeks, and to the Jews, and this has been the characteristic feature of the work of the Board in the Turkish Empire. An ancient but corrupted form of Christianity it has been sought to purify and bring back to a true acquaintance with the Gospels, a living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and a life molded in its spirit and aims by the Scriptures and by Him of whom they testify. It was not the intention of the missionaries to establish a separate Protestant community, but to assist, if possible, in a movement that should result in the reformation of the existing churches.

The excommunication of the evangelicals from their own Church and community by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople changed their plans and made necessary the organization of Protestant churches and of a Protestant community, which were at once formally recognized by the Turkish Government. This action took place in 1847 and introduced

a change in the methods of missionary work, but not a change of aim.

It is a most happy circumstance of these later days, that the reformation of the Gregorian churches which was making such progress prior to the separation has reappeared, that these churches have in many instances come into most friendly relations to the neighboring Protestant churches, the true evangelical spirit has manifested itself with cheering results among the priests and people, and the original hope of the mission has begun to be realized in many parts of the Empire.

One Great Mission Field.

Originally the entire field of Turkey was regarded as one mission with its center at Constantinople; but the practical difficulties of holding a yearly meeting of the mission at any one point, with other considerations, led to the division of the Empire into the four fields of the present time—the Western Turkey mission, embracing territorially the larger part, including as its stations Constantinople, Nicomedia, Brûsa, Smyrna, Marsovan, Cesarea, Sivas and Trebizond; the Central Turkey mission, lying to the south of the Taurus Mountains, and to the west of the Euphrates Valley, with its two principal stations at Aintab and Marash; the Eastern Turkey mission, including what lies between these two fields and the Russian and Persian borders, having for its stations Erzurûm, Harpût, Mardin, Bitlis and Van; and the mission in European Turkey, of later origin, chiefly among Bulgarians, with its stations at Monastir, Philippopolis, Samokov and Salonica.

From the beginning, work in behalf of the Greek Christians, found in certain parts of the Turkish Empire in considerable numbers, has constituted an integral and very interesting part of the whole enterprise, but has never constituted a distinct mission.

The languages employed in missionary work have been the Armenian, the Greek, the Turkish, the Bulgarian and in certain portions of the Central Turkey mission and of the Eastern Turkey Mission the Arabic. The Bible translated into these languages, has been widely distributed, many text-books for school use have been provided, and a somewhat extended volume of Christian literature has been made available for the people by the efforts of the missionaries.

The Bible House at Constantinople, one of the great centers of missionary activity and a right arm of the missionary work, sends out through all the Empire annually many millions of pages of the Scriptures and of other literature for the instruction and edification of the Christian people, as well as text-books for the mission schools.

Character of Missionary Work.

The direct Christian work in these missions in Turkey has been most energetic, widespread and effectual, and many self-supporting, evangelical churches are found in the great centers in each of the missions. Education has been a marked feature of the work in these missions almost from the beginning, and nowhere else in the fields occupied by the Board have we to-day so many institutions of a high grade, so fully attended.

Anatolia College at Marsovan, Central Turkey College at Aintab, and the Institute at Samokov, for men alone, the American College for girls at Scutari, and the Central Turkey Female College at Marash, for women alone, and Euphrates College at Harpût, for both men and women, are all institutions doing a work of true college grade adjusted to the special conditions found in the Turkish Empire. Robert College, on the Bosphorus, though entirely independent of the missions, is a striking result of missionary labors and

strongly re-enforces missionary influence. These colleges are re-enforced by twenty-six high schools for boys, nineteen boarding schools for girls, all thoroughly manned and attended by about 2,000 students, and by 350 common schools, with more than 16,000 pupils.

At the head of all stand the five theological schools, in which men are trained directly for the native pastorate. It will suggest the breadth and fruitfulness of the work if attention is called to the 125 churches now in these missions, with 12,787 members, with 100 native pastors, 128 other preachers, and a total force of native laborers numbering 778. It is further evidence of the quality of these churches that last year they contributed for all purposes but little short of \$68,000.

An Educational Centre.

A work having the same origin with these missions, conducted by the Board for many years, achieving a like success, and now in the care of the Presbyterian Board of New York, is in progress in Syria, having its great educational center at Beirût. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of America sustains a small but successful medical and educational work at Mersin in Asia Minor.

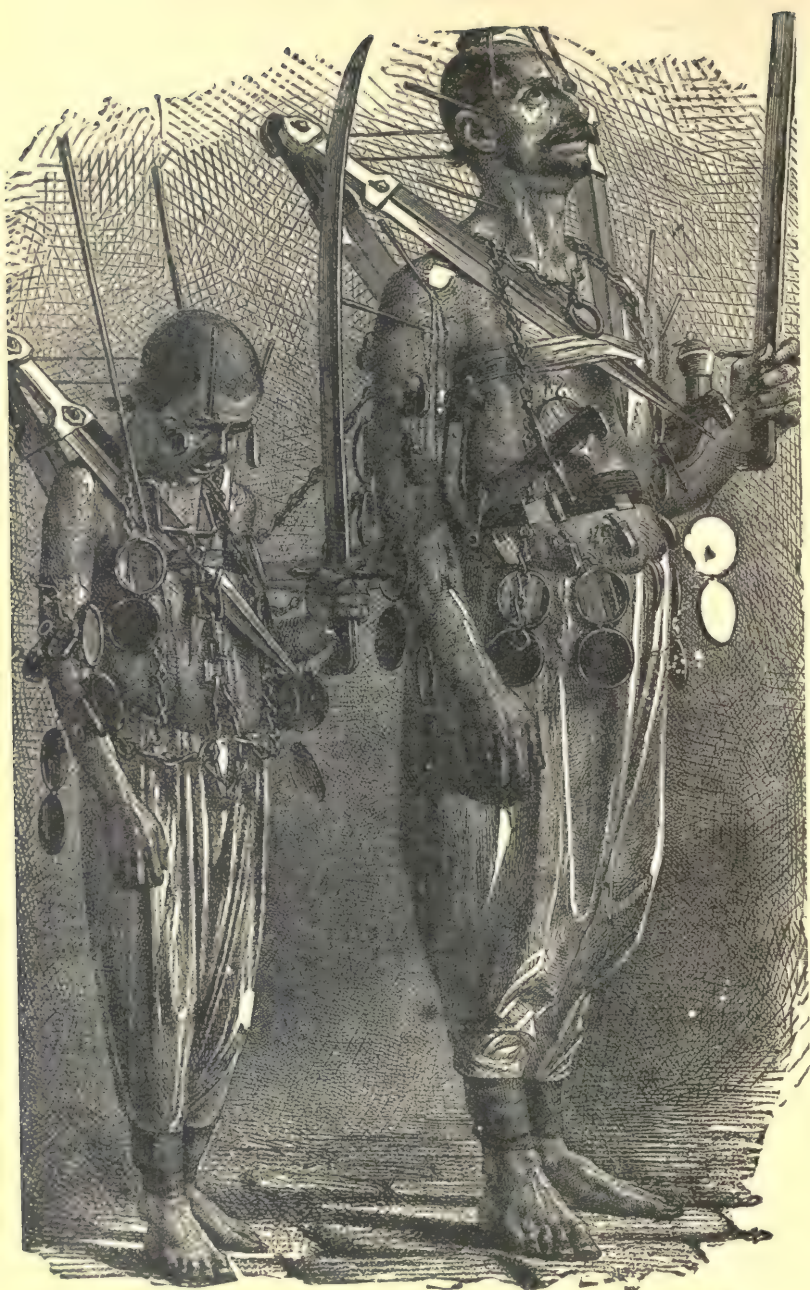
Work in behalf of the Jews in different parts of the Empire, at first included in the missions of the Board, is now in the care of missionaries from Great Britain; there is also an interesting work supported by the Society of Friends in this country carried on in different parts of Palestine. But, providentially, the great bulk of the missionary work in the Turkish Empire has devolved upon the American Board, and has at length reached nearly every principal city and village in European Turkey and in the territory from the Dardanelles and the Mediterranean eastward to the Russian border, and from the Black Sea southward to Syria and Arabia.

At no time has the work of the Board in Asiatic Turkey been in better condition or presented greater promise than within the last year. And it is upon the Armenian people, among whom this work has been so largely carried on, that a wild storm of massacre and pillage has fallen, sweeping the country from Trebizond southward into the valley of the Euphrates, westward to Marsovan and Cesarea and out to the Mediterranean Sea, covering the entire territory of the eastern and central missions and those parts of the Western Turkey mission that are adjacent.

Thousands have been foully murdered, chiefly the leading business men, and hundreds of thousands of those dependent on them have been left utterly destitute; many a Protestant pastor and teacher has fallen in loyalty to his faith, and mission chapels and schools in great numbers have been burned to the ground. The stations where educational work centered have been especially assailed, and at Harpût and to some degree at Marash, the plant has been well-nigh swept out of existence, and the missionaries themselves exposed to deadly peril.

The Heart of the Christian World Stirred.

Sympathy for the people, so broken and bleeding, is almost as widespread as Christianity and civilization, and generous gifts for their relief are steadily flowing to Constantinople. There is an additional reason why, for the American people, a peculiar interest should attach to the present situation in Turkey. Upon the uplifting and enlightenment of a noble portion of the people in the Turkish Empire, American citizens have already expended more than \$6,000,000, have established there a mission plant worth to-day \$1,500,000, are annually devoting to the further development of this work a sum exceeding \$150,000, and have there as their representatives, distributed in small groups over the whole Empire, a



band of 152 men and women, among the noblest and the best that our Christian homes and schools can produce.

The bearing of these men and women in the midst of the terrible scenes of the last four months, their calmness when the people were filled with dread in view of the approaching scourge, their courage when death was all around them and even when it stared them in the face, their faith that out of all this tumult and distress will come the enlargement of God's kingdom in this land, their steadfast purpose to remain at their posts and share the troubles of their people and minister to their wants, proof against the natural shrinking of their own hearts, against the pleading of friends at home, against the persuasions even of those to whom they must look for protection—these things have won for them the meed of universal praise.

Another Name for Heroism.

The name *missionary* has gained a new definition by deeds like these, and instead of a term of reproach or ridicule, it has become almost a synonym of hero and heroine. And all this noble conduct has filled the Armenian nation with boundless love and gratitude, and has bound their hearts to the missionaries with hooks of steel. Henceforth this whole nation will be like wax in the hands of these their protectors and benefactors and personal friends. And even beyond the Armenian people, many and many of the Moslems are noting this high proof of the Christian faith, and are enshrining in their hearts' admiring love the names we cherish, and longing for a share in their faith.

But it as teachers and exemplars of the Christian faith and life, not as political deliverers, that they have won their place; no political aim has ever been allowed to enter into this widespread and most effective Christian labor; and the missionary

operations of the Board stand clear of all responsibility for the grave political disturbances which threaten the stability of the Empire. They have been loyal to the existing Government and have inculcated this duty upon their pupils; they have sought to make better men and better citizens of all those with whom they have had to do; and no truer friends of the Turkish Empire and of all its people than the American missionaries have lived within its borders these seventy years past.

For the protection of themselves and of their legitimate enterprise within that territory, guaranteed by treaty rights, and numerous precedents, and long-continued usage, we may justly claim the utmost exertions of our own Government and the friendly regard of all mankind. It cannot be that upon this work, to which so many precious lives have been given, on which such treasures have been expended, on the successful maintenance of which such vast interests depend, ruin hopeless and universal is now to fall. May we not rather cherish the hope that this storm is for cleansing and purifying and shall endure but for a night, and that a day of brightness and glory is soon to dawn upon this great Empire?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Turkey and the Turks.

BY REV. EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS.

THE term Turkey, as ordinarily used, is applied distinctively to the section including Asia Minor, Armenia and Kurdistan, and is thus by no means identical with the Turkish Empire. European Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Tripoli in Africa have each their own individuality, and were they withdrawn from Turkish rule Turkey would still remain. Take, however, this section, which may be called Turkey proper, out of the Sultan's hands, and though he continued in power, even at Damascus or Bagdad, Turkey would cease to exist. This integrity of Turkey proper is due partly to its topography, but chiefly to the fact of its being dominated so thoroughly by the Turks.

From the Bosphorus to Persia there are no natural boundaries. The mountain ranges either follow the coast line or blend in an inextricable maze both on the east and west. The rivers double upon themselves in most perplexing style, while high plateaus of varying extent and great fertility are scattered over the whole area with full impartiality. The result of these general characteristics is seen in history. The whole region has either been under the control of some one power or has been divided among petty kingdoms, with no definite limitations, each depending for its extent upon the variable valor of its troopers and the ambition of its chieftains.

When Romans or Greeks entered from the west, the Assyrians from the south and the Turks or Mongols from the

east, they found themselves in much the same condition as the Russians in Central Asia, compelled to subdue the various tribes one after another, or leave the country and confine their rule to regions more easily traversed. Greeks, Romans, Assyrians, Mongols, failed to make permanent their Empire. The only ones who stayed, met the various difficulties, brought the whole region under one centralized Government and held it for any length of time, were those who have given their name to the land and who are to-day the ruling class in Turkey, the Turks.

The story of how this Tartar tribe, after various expeditions, secured its footing in Western Asia Minor and built up its government, is one of the most fascinating in history. In the progress from chieftainship to empire, under such leaders as Orchan, Mohammed II., Suleiman the Magnificent, and others, there were many vicissitudes. At times there seemed to be no limit to their power, and Europe stood aghast as the Turkish troops gathered twice under the crumbling walls of Vienna. The valor of the citizens in the one case and the conscientious fidelity of Sobieski in the other proved more than a match for the Asiatics; and they fell back.

At other times the great Empire with its heterogeneous elements seemed on the point of crumbling to pieces, but always there was some innate power that secured a rebound, until it was stronger than ever. There was, too, the strange kaleidoscope of European diplomacy. Francis I., of France, led the way, with an alliance with Suleiman against Austria; then one power and another coquetted with Sultans, bribed viziers, or alternately cajoled and threatened the Porte, until the great strife came between Napoleon and the Czar, and the "Great Elchi," Sir Stratford Canning, inaugurated the reign of British influence.

The story of the present century is too full of varying

phases to be even outlined here. It is sufficient to say that notwithstanding the loss of province after province; notwithstanding an administration, probably the most corrupt and worthless in the world; notwithstanding repeated massacres of its best tax-payers; notwithstanding a steady, unwavering, unmitigated oppression, which has ground the very life out of the fairest lands of the Empire, that Empire stands to-day, and we hear less of the approaching dissolution of the "Sick Man" than has been heard for over half a century.

What is the reason for this continuance of a Government which has been generally considered so weak that for over a century its partition has been a familiar theme for European statesmen? The popular answer is, the jealousy of the European Powers, which acts as a prop on every side. There is undoubtedly truth in this; but there is another element that enters in as a most important factor, and that is the Turkish population.

Population of Turkey.

There are no reliable statistics of population in Turkey. The latest available estimates give about 11,000,000 for Turkey proper. This is divided among Turks, Kurds, Circassians and other Moslem tribes, Armenians and Greeks. Here again there is no good basis for accurate apportionment. Probably there are about 6,000,000 Turks, 1,000,000 Kurds, 500,000 Circassians, etc., 2,000,000 Armenians, 1,000,000 Greeks, and the remaining 500,000 are Jews, Jacobites, foreigners, etc. Thus the Turkish element is by far the strongest in numbers. It is also so distributed as thoroughly to dominate the whole territory, and it has certain elements of character which have had an important part in the organization and preservation of the Empire.

The Turkish character is often very much misunderstood,

partly because the foreigner sees only certain phases of it, partly because it is in truth very self-contradictory. The historian reads chiefly of the terror inspired wherever Turkish troops have gone, and his vision is filled with pictures of burning villages and long lines of exiles or slaves. The average reader of to-day thinks only of the "unspeakable Turk," dwells upon the terrible recital of the scenes at Sassûn, Erzurûm, Urfa, etc., and comes to the conclusion that the whole race should be blotted out. On the other hand, diplomats tell of an urbane Sultan, suave viziers and courteous administrators.

The Truth about the Turk.

Travelers speak of hospitable sheiks and loyal servants and merchants who have suffered at the hands of shrewder Armenians and Greeks, laud the honesty and reliability of their Turkish correspondents. These latter claim that their personal observation is more to be relied upon than the statements of those who have suffered or those who they think have an interest in painting even the Devil blacker than he deserves.

What is the truth about the Turk? Are they fiends incarnate or are they mild-mannered, kindly men? It is given to no one man to be able to tell all the truth, or hold the balances with perfectly even hand, hence what is said here is offered not as dictum or as judgment, but simply as one man's contribution based upon many experiences and considerable reading.

I have had Turkish landlords and Turkish neighbors, have enjoyed Turkish hospitality and traveled under Turkish protection, and it is simple justice to say that I ask no more kindly, courteous treatment than I have had from all; but, I have seen Turks left to starve by their own kin, I have heard

from Turkish lips the foulest language that can come from a foul heart ; I have felt the weight of Turkish official falsehood, and the sting of Turkish contempt for the infidel, and have seen the effect of Turkish oppression.

It must be recognized that there are many sides to Turkish character. Under ordinary circumstances the Turk of the inland village or town, and often the Turk of the city, manifests many of the nobler elements. He is affectionate in his family, dearly loving his children, and not infrequently his wife. He is fond of flowers, rejoices in beautiful scenery, is kind to animals, hospitable to guests, and for the most part lives on good terms with his neighbors of whatever race or creed. He is loyal to his religion, and his worship is by no means perfunctory. To him the one God is an intensely real Being, whose power is absolute, and to disobey whom will bring swift and sure destruction. That power is not merely general, but personal, even to the minutest detail of life.

A Rank Fatalist.

Hence the unadulterated Turk is an absolute fatalist, who will take no medicine to cure disease, or flinch in the face of the most powerful foes. Hence, also, he is loyal to the Caliph as the civil head of the Moslem Church, and no ruler in the world can boast more faithful subjects than can the Sultan. In his bearing toward the subject races there is evident the haughtiness of a ruling class, a gracious acceptance of their contributions to his welfare in the shape of taxes and general service, and a certain disdainful toleration for the tricks they practice in order to make up in this life for the misery they are to suffer in the life to come.

When it comes to his personal welfare the Turk has comparatively little ambition ; what was good enough for his fathers is good enough for him ; why labor to secure more of

comfort than God evidently intended? Thus his great desire is "to make *kef*," enjoy the present to the full, let the morrow take care of itself, and exert himself as little as may be. This is, however, not laziness, for whenever he undertakes anything he is energetic; it is rather a form of fatalism, a sort of combination of the Stoic and the Epicurean.

There are, however, other characteristics. In times of famine and distress he will put forth little or no effort to save his fellows. Suffering, whether of man or beast, he looks upon with calmness, almost with stolidity. He considers woman his slave, and has not the faintest regard for the honor of sex, except so far as it is necessary to preserve from taint his own family.

Not from Principle.

His truthfulness and honesty are purely a matter of natural dignity of character, and have no moral quality. Let there arise the feeling that his supremacy or the supremacy of his religion is in danger, and there are no excesses of deceit, murder, rapine or outrage to which he will not go. The excesses of the past year have been committed chiefly by the Kurds and the rabble such as is found in every nation, but regular soldiers and Turkish citizens have had no inconsiderable share in them.

It is part of his creed that no faith be kept with an infidel; and though under ordinary circumstances the native honesty of the race asserts itself against the creed, let the occasion arise and the creed becomes all-powerful law. Even loyalty to the Sultan depends upon the Sultan's loyalty to the creed, and if once the feeling arise that the Caliph is false to his trust, his deposition becomes most manifest duty, not only of the rabble, but of the best citizen.

Official life seems to have in Turkey, even more than else-

where, the effect of developing the worst characteristics of Turkish nature. The Turks themselves say that a Turk is a decent man until he becomes an official, and then he becomes a scamp. The Turkish Government is unquestionably the worst in the world. It is absolutely rotten with bribery, and knows nothing of justice. Not that Turkish officials are all thoroughly bad men. Such men as Fuad, Ali, Ahmet Vefyk and Kiamil Pashas would be an honor to any country; and no one can have dealings with the Government without finding numerous individuals who preserve the better qualities of the Turkish character.

In general, however, an honest official is unknown, and from the highest officers of the Porte to the most menial servitors in the provinces, the Government is administered in a shamelessly corrupt and outrageously cruel manner.

Power of the Peasantry.

Much more might be said, but this will suffice to give a conception of both the strength and weakness of the Turkish Empire. Five million Turkish peasants, such as make up the bulk of the nation, are a power by no means to be despised. They have proved their power repeatedly in history, and to-day they are by far the most important element in the section described as Turkey proper. From Constantinople and Smyrna to the Euphrates, they are dominant, not only over Christians, but over other Moslems; and east of the Euphrates, while fewer in numbers than the Kurds, their native force of character, not less than their possession of the reins of government, makes them the rulers.

Stir their national pride and their religious fanaticism, and they evince a force before which Europe's best troops may well hesitate; witness the valor at Plevna. When the whole history of that war is known, it is more than probable that

Russian gold rather than Russian arms will be found to have opened the way from the Danube to San Stefano.

What is to be the future of Turkey? Will the Sultan's rule continue, or will his Empire be apportioned among the Powers of Europe. Much will depend upon any agreement among those Powers, but no agreement will be carried out successfully which does not take into consideration the integrity of Turkey proper, both in its topography and in the national character of the ruling class to whom those who know them best feel like applying the words descriptive of the famous Scotch chieftain,

“Ower gude for banning, ower bad for blessing.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Turkish Government.

THE Government of Turkey under the supreme rule of the Sultan is composed of the Sublime Porte and the Council of State. Under these there is the administration of the departments in the Central Government and of the provinces throughout the Empire. There is, however, an informal, yet none the less powerful element, known sometimes as the Privy Council, or the Palace Party.

The Sublime Porte, which derives its name from the gate where the early Sultans held their audiences, and which enters the Seraglio grounds near the mosque of St. Sophia, corresponds very closely to the Cabinets of other countries. Its officers are the Grand Vizier, the Sheik-ul-Islam, the Ministers of the Interior, of War, Evkaf, Public Instruction, Public Works, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Marine, Justice and the Civil List, and the President of the Council of State.

The Grand Vizier receives his appointment immediately from the Sultan and makes up his own Cabinet, though with the Sultan's approval. He has no particular portfolio but presides over the general Government, and his word is ordinarily all-powerful in any of the departments. The Sheik-ul-Islam also nominally receives his appointment direct from the Sultan, but in most cases is the choice of the Grand Vizier. He is not, as is so often supposed, the head of the Moslem religion, but is the representative in this Cabinet of the Ulema, the general body of teachers of Moslem law, having no very definite organization in themselves and yet exerting as a mass a very powerful influence over the Empire.

The Sheik-ul-Islam has comparatively little influence, except when there is a necessity for the interpretation of Moslem law in the conduct of the Government; then he becomes an important member. The most noted instances of this in late years have been in connection with the deposition of Sultans Abdul Aziz or Murad. In those cases the Sheik-ul-Islam prepared the decree, or fetvah, which declared the Sultan unfit to rule, and authorized his deposition by the Cabinet.

The other members of the Sublime Porte conduct their departments in much the same way as in other Governments. Two only require special mention: the Department of Public Instruction is most important, including as it does the Board of Censors, who have the right to pass upon the publication or importation of all literary matter, and can decree the suppression or confiscation of any newspaper or of any book which they think is derogatory to the interests of the Empire.

A Peculiar Function of Government.

The Department of Evkaf is peculiar to Turkish administration. It has to do with the care of the great amount of property vested in the mosques. Under Turkish law property which in other states would revert to the Government, reverts usually to the nearest mosque, and individuals, as an act of piety, frequently deed real estate or other property to the mosques, which thus have become immensely wealthy. This property may be purchased on condition of the payment of rent to the mosque or of an annuity to any persons specified in the deed by which the property is handed to the mosque.

The income of this department has been somewhat reduced of late years by the seizure of a considerable portion of it by the Government. Under this same department comes also

the care of the general expenses for Mohammedan worship, such as the pilgrimages to Mecca, the public reading of the Koran, etc.

An Imposing Council.

The Council of State is composed of a large number of prominent men, most of whom have at one time or another held office in the Cabinet. They are called together only on special occasions of difficulty requiring their consultation. Their President has his seat in the Cabinet.

Closely connected with the Sultan himself is a sort of unofficial Privy Council, composed of the various Palace officials, such as the Introducer of Ambassadors, the Private Secretary, and such members of the Council of State, or perhaps of the Cabinet, as are in particular favor with the Sultan, or upon whose advice and information he relies particularly. Not formally connected with these, and yet at different times exerting considerable influence, are various ecclesiastics, or dervishes, who gather from different parts of the Empire, and who represent before the Sultan his widely extended Moslem constituency.

Usually these are men of great shrewdness, and sometimes they have exerted almost boundless influence over the Sultan. In previous reigns the chief Eunuch of the palace and also the Queen Mother have exercised great power; but that has not been characteristic of the present reign.

The judicial system of the Turkish Government is complex. During the present century the Napoleon code has been introduced and made the basis of a system of courts very similar to those of European countries. The original Moslem courts, however, presided over by the cadis, have not entirely disappeared, especially in the provinces; and the administration of justice is often a strange combination of the two systems.

For administrative purposes the Empire is divided into vilayets, these again into mustessarifliks and kaimakamliks, and these again into mudirliks. The two highest grades are governed by pashas appointed in Constantinople; the third grade, or kaimakam, receives his appointment ordinarily from Constantinople, but sometimes from the provincial superiors. The mudirs are almost invariably local magistrates. Associated with each one of these officials is a council, or mejliss, including prominent Turks and the heads of the various Christian communities. They have no official authority; tender their advice when it is desired to the Governor, and consult in general in regard to the interests of the communities.

The income of the Government is derived from customs dues; from tithes levied upon all agricultural produce; from the sale of certain articles, as salt, which are Government monopolies, and from imposts on pretty nearly everything, and from the capitation and exemption taxes levied upon the Christian subjects. The tithes are generally farmed out, and this gives occasion for the greatest amount of oppression.

Taxes and Slow Payments.

There is no regular system of collection, and when the treasury runs low the Government sends out a requisition to the interior provinces. The money is then collected in whatever way is feasible. There is no regularity in the payment of salaries. The Government is notoriously in arrears in regard to the payment of employes, being sometimes months, and even years, behind. The statement that a month's salary is to be paid becomes a matter of comment in the public press and of general congratulation.

The result is widespread corruption in all departments. The absence of salaries is made up for by the collection of fees; and every official, from the lowest to the highest,

through whose hands any money passes, is sure to keep as much of it as he thinks he can without incurring too severe wrath from his superior.

Over this whole administration presides the Sultan himself. His word is supreme in each department, and he can and frequently does override the decisions of his Ministers. More than almost any of his predecessors in the line of Ottoman Sultans, Abdul Hamid II. takes personal cognizance of the most minute details of his Government. The interests not only of his Palace and his capital, but of the most remote provinces, come under his eye. His industry is proverbial, and to his ability all who know him personally bear cordial witness.

He is, however, by no means the absolute autocrat that he appears. He realizes very clearly his position between two contradictory and mutually repellant forces, the progress of the West and the conservatism of the East. If he antagonizes the former too much, he runs the risk of losing his Empire; if he fails to keep in sympathy with the latter, his Caliphate is endangered. His position is one by no means to be envied, and no judgment of him can be just which does not take into account the peculiarities of that position.

CHAPTER XXX.

Relief for Suffering Armenia.

WORK OF MISS CLARA BARTON AND DR. GRACE E. KIMBALL.

FROM a reliable source, under date of February 15, 1896, we have the following statement concerning the needs of Armenia and the efforts for relief:

Despite the efforts of the Government to conceal the true situation of affairs in Armenia, the facts are coming to light, and they are sufficiently appalling to make the civilized world shudder with apprehension as to what may follow. All that has been accomplished in the way of reducing the native Christian population by the recent massacres will prove insignificant in comparison with the overwhelming "reduction" that is now going on in the 2500 villages of Anatolia (the official designation of Armenia).

Not the sword, the rifle, or the torch could ever have done a twentieth part of the havoc among these wretched people that is now being done by exhausted nature. Cholera, cold and hunger are the new and formidable allies of the Sultan in his war of extermination, and the wolves of starvation are stalking up and down the valleys and plains of Asia Minor, claiming thousands of unresisting victims.

Although we still almost daily hear news of slaughter and plunder, these reports, in the main, relate to events which occurred before the beginning of the present year. There have been no massacres since 1896 began, and very few disturbances of any considerable extent in the last two months.

But railroad and telegraphic communication in Asiatic

Turkey is extremely limited, and there are hundreds of small, isolated towns and villages which were almost obliterated during the great Kurdish and Circassian raids of October and November, from which the news of their calamities is only now coming in; and there are others whose fate may not be known for weeks to come.

A sudden night rush of Kurdish horsemen, doors burst open, furious volleys fired upon the affrighted inmates, those w^{ho} came out shot down, and the raided buildings looted and left a heap of smoking ruins—such has been the fate of hundreds of Armenian villages whose sites are now as bare as a desert. It has only been by precipitate flight that the multitudes of refugees who are now wandering among the Armenian wilds saved their lives. Wherever a courageous defense was made against the Kurdish and Lazo troopers the overwhelming force of the assailants only made the fate of the defenders the more terrible.

Days of Blood.

All the world now knows the story of those dreadful October and November days of blood; but it does not know yet that the last state of the survivors is worse than the first. Between 400,000 and 500,000 Armenian Christians are to-day homeless vagrants, weak and emaciated from their long fight against famine.

From Sassoun to the Persian border, and from Trebizond to Mesopotamia this is the situation. They have flocked to all the cities—Van, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Sevas, Diarbekir, Harpoot, Adana, Aleppo, Mardin, Aintab—and they are still coming. From caves and rude huts in the snow-covered hills; from rocky hiding places in the valleys, where they have lived on berries and leaves until the snow and frost deprived them even of such wretched food; from the desolated

villages, the ruined farms and the plundered homesteads they are coming, because in the cities they at least hope to be helped, even if it be only to a morsel of bread.

Gaunt men and lads, feeble girls, tottering mothers with wan-faced babes, that seem ready to breathe out their puny lives—they are coming. Van alone has nearly 20,000 of these refugees, and the other cities in proportion. A multitude have crossed the Persian frontier at Khoi, and many have reached Salmas and the neighboring towns, and even Urumia.

The cities of Armenia, having been already raided and plundered, are in no condition to help the horde of new arrivals. There is no food, shelter or clothing for them, and they wander aimlessly about the streets or congregate in crowds wherever there is a prospect of charity being doled out to them.

In a few places the Government is ostentatiously supplying rations to the starving, the ration consisting of a half pound of bread daily for each adult. Hunger and the train of diseases that follow it are mowing them down daily in increasing numbers.

It is now generally accepted as a fact that the Porte does not wish to interfere between these pitiable creatures and their impending fate. Europe is excited when a few thousand Christians are murdered, but the programme of starvation can be carried out without danger of interference, as no Government will lay at the door of Turkey the responsibility for the mortality from such a cause.

Brave Men and Women.

Meanwhile, a mere handful of brave men and women are standing between the destitute Armenians and death. They are the missionaries of the American Board, and thus far not a man or woman among them has left their post of duty for

the purpose of assuring personal safety. They have interposed between the raised yataghan and its victim so often that the presence of death has become familiar. At Harpoot the bullets swept through the corridors of the American mission, but the missionaries escaped unhurt. In this spirit the faithful little band has carried on such a relief work as has probably never before been attempted in the history of Christian missions.

Courage of our Missionaries.

All the other missionaries having been temporarily withdrawn, it has fallen to the lot of the American workers to distribute the funds collected both in England and the United States, including a very large part of the English contributions known as the "Duke of Westminster Fund," and also the fund raised by Dr. Louis Klopsch through his journal, *The Christian Herald*, of New York. The Westminster Fund was mainly expended in feeding and clothing the survivors in the districts affected by the Sassoun and Talvoreeg massacres.

When the Turks found that they could not control the relief funds they made a stubborn attempt to stop the work of relief altogether; but the American missionaries, by sheer pluck and persistence, carried their point, and were permitted to remain in the field. Not a hair of their heads has been injured, though they have passed through massacre and fire.

"We looked death in the face, and it seemed sweet to us," said Dr. Barnum, of Harpoot, telling of the time when the mission house was blazing and slaughter raged on the streets. "I count it the crowning glory of my life to have been permitted to be here at that time," wrote Mrs. Montgomery, from Adana, where she faced death in front of her class of girls. Of such heroic stuff were the men and women made who declared that with God's help and the sympathy of His

people, the Armenians should not be exterminated by starvation as Turkey had fully intended. With the small sums at their disposal they began to help the neediest in their immediate neighborhoods.

Relief Work at Van.

Relief stations were opened at Bitlis and Van. In the latter city Dr. Grace N. Kimball, an American medical missionary, began an industrial work for the purpose of giving employment to as many of the destitute as possible, in the manufacture of cotton goods. When her work languished for lack of funds, Dr. Klopsch sent forward liberal remittances, aggregating \$15,000, to Van, with the result that Dr. Kimball was able to save many lives. Hundreds of families were employed in her Industrial Bureau, and to those for whom work could not be obtained she gave food in sufficient quantities to keep them from starvation, and clothing where it was necessary.

The Van Relief Bureau also supplied medicine to the sick. According to recent letters from Dr. Kimball, the Industrial Bureau employs 981 persons, representing over 950 families, by whose labor 4750 persons are supported. They are spinners and weavers, carders, spindle-fillers, knitters and sewers; and the manufactures are coarse cotton cloth, woolen goods, carpets, stout jackets, socks and bedding. The product of the bureau is sold in different parts of the country, a considerable amount being sent to the Sassoun Relief Commission. Attached to the Relief Bureau is a bakery, where free bread is supplied to 2500 persons, the allowance per capita being one and one-half pounds per day.

While the conduct of all the missionaries has been brave and self-denying, there is an especial halo of romance about the relief work at Van. This district is considered by many

eminent scholars to be the site of the ancient Eden, the lost Garden of man's happiness; but to-day the province is a veritable desert, and presents the appearance of having been swept by a cyclone of destruction. The descent of the fugitive villagers upon Van was so sudden and overwhelming as to cause stout hearts to quail, but Grace Kimball, who has proved herself to be a heroine, rose to the emergency.

This brave woman, despite official threats and warnings, went out among the fugitives in the streets, comforted and encouraged them, gave them bread with her own hands, while they were pulling at her garments and kissing her hands and feet in gratitude. She ministered to the sick, and, cheered by her example her missionary associates took heart of Grace and joined in the work.

Those Armenian "Dogs."

Again and again the Turkish Pashas and Valis insisted that the relief be stopped; the Armenians were "dogs;" "better let them die;" but the greater the opposition the higher rose the courage of the American girl.

Her first step was to hire a small bakery with her own personal funds; then a small remittance came, and a second bakery was added to the facilities, and on New Year's Day, just when the work seemed about to drop, she received the first remittance of \$5000 from Dr. Klopsch, who also cabled that sufficient funds would be supplied to meet all the necessities of the work. One can imagine the spirit of joy and gratitude in which she wrote a week later: "How sorely we needed the money! Perhaps you may be able to dimly imagine what a tremendous relief we experienced when your telegram came on New Year's Day. Many and many a poor villager has said to me: 'You have saved this province from a terrible famine.' The praise belongs, not to me, but to the

generous men and women in America who have opened their hearts and purses.

"We are, indeed, the only hope of this people for the Winter."

Feeding the Hungry.

After a while the Turkish efforts to stop the work were relaxed. A very large bakery was hired, and now Dr. Kimball is fairly able to cope with the demand for bread, at last. As far as known there have been no deaths from actual starvation within the gates of Van.

All the stations, with a single exception, are conducted by missionaries of the American Board, Urumia alone being managed by a missionary of the Presbyterian Board. Thousands of Armenian fugitives have arrived there destitute. All the missionaries have sent in reports of the progress of their work from time to time, through the missionary boards, and congratulate the people of America upon the fact that they are able, by these generous means, to save thousands of lives; for had it not been for American relief the Winter death-roll in Armenia from hunger and cold would have been quite as appalling as that of the massacres.

That this may be better understood it should be stated that Turkish estimates of the situation in Armenia give the following figures :

Number of Armenian villages	3,300
Number of villages destroyed	2,500
Number reduced to starvation in villages .	366,000
Number reduced to starvation in the towns	75,000

In other words, a total of nearly 450,000 souls are in imminent danger of starvation, and apparently have been deliberately placed in that perilous position by the Turkish Government, in furtherance of its policy of extermination.

There are serious difficulties to contend with in the management of the relief work at every point. Harpoot, for instance, is a city surrounded by several hundred small villages. The town itself has been wasted by the Kurds, and the Armenia population reduced almost to beggary; but the villagers have met a severer fate, a large proportion of them having been literally wiped out of existence. Such of the survivors as can reach Harpoot have gone there in the hope of being fed, but the missionaries have to reach out in every direction in order to succor those who still linger about the ruins of their desolated homes. This description applies to all the cities and their surroundings.

There are hundreds of villages that will not be reached by the present relief movement, and in these the mortality must necessarily be something frightful, for the Armenian Winter is usually severe, and cold and exposure must already have done their fatal work among the women and children. When the Winter death-roll from these causes is approximately ascertained it will be found to be appalling.

Places of Greatest Destitution.

The centers of greatest destitution at the present time are undoubtedly these four: Harpoot, where the slaughter and destruction have been greatly under-estimated; Malatia, where 3000 are said to have perished; Van, which is a focus for fugitives from everywhere, and Diarbekir. These cities alone, with their surrounding villages, could readily absorb a relief fund of a million dollars, and the amount of money thus far raised has produced hardly any perceptible alleviation outside of a very limited radius.

The National Red Cross Association of America has decided to send its agents to relieve the suffering Armenians, if the country will support the agents with money and sup-

plies. Miss Clara Barton, who is the Red Cross Society herself, as public opinion goes, is willing to lead the company—a woman now sixty-five years old, who for thirty years has been in the midst of death and suffering, by battle, flood, earthquakes, fire and cyclone, hastening to carry aid whenever the call has come. Most people know of Clara Barton and her life and that the Red Cross is the symbol of charity, noble sacrifice and blessing wherever men are suffering. There is stirring romance in the history of the Red Cross, the emblem of the Crusaders, of the Knights of Malta, who fought for their faith, and risked life for sentiment.

Within recent years the Red Cross has come to bear a broader significance, since the time thirty years ago, when, at a congress of nations in Geneva, it was made international law that the Red Cross should be the badge of neutrality on every battlefield, and that only the Red Cross would be thus respected.

The Red Cross.

Already there were organizations through Europe whose purpose was to furnish medical aid on the battlefield, to reinforce the insufficient equipment of the military service. Some of them were very powerful, but after the Geneva conference of 1864 such bodies in all countries were known as the Red Cross, although still retaining their independent titles and organizations. Since 1864 the Red Cross has gleamed like a star of hope on the battle-field of every important conflict in Europe, and for the last fourteen years upon the scene of every great catastrophe to mankind in America.

Miss Barton held a position in the Patent Office at Washington at the opening of the war. Her brother was captured, and she determined to go South and make an effort to liberate him. Just before the battle of Bull Run she advertised in the Worcester, Mass., papers that she would receive stores and

money for the wounded soldiers at the front, which she would personally distribute. The appeal was so liberally answered that she filled a building in Washington. Miss Barton went to the front, and after the death of her brother continued to nurse and relieve suffering until nearly the end of the war.

Her work was independent of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. On returning to Washington she petitioned Congress for \$15,000 in "payment for her services in endeavoring to discover missing soldiers of the Army of the United States, and in communicating intelligence to their relatives." A bill was finally passed giving her \$15,000 for expenses already incurred and for services to be rendered, the appropriation having reference to her proposed search for the graves of soldiers, unknown, missing and unrecorded.

Miss Clara Barton.

The path to this work opened for Miss Barton through the records kept by Dorrance Atwater, a Connecticut boy in prison at Andersonville. He had been detailed to keep for the prison authorities a record of the dead and their burial. Thinking that the folks at home would like to know he preserved on rags and bits of paper a duplicate set of records, with the graves indicated on a plot of the burying-ground. After the war Miss Barton secured these lists of 15,000 names, and together they had thousands of graves marked with headboards at Andersonville and elsewhere.

In 1869, nearing her fortieth year, Miss Barton went abroad for necessary rest and recuperation. The next year the Franco-Prussian War broke out, and Miss Barton sought the battlefields and did effective work among the wounded, especially at Strasburg. From Strasburg she went to relieve the suffering after the fall of the Commune, in Paris. Her services won her the Prussian Order of Merit, gave her

acquaintance with the workings of the Red Cross agencies in Switzerland and Germany, and brought her under the notice of the head of the latter society, the Empress Augusta.

The Gifts of Nations.

As a result of this and other visits and services Miss Barton has received a jewel gift from the Grand Duchess of Baden, the jewel of the American Red Cross, the Servian decoration of the Red Cross, presented by Queen Natalie; the Gold Cross of Remembrance, from the Duke of Baden; and Red Cross medal from the Queen of Italy; and an English decoration, pinned on by the hand of Queen Victoria. When all was over Miss Barton returned from Europe to find that, while she had won fame abroad, her work was almost wholly unknown here. For four years Miss Barton worked to have the United States Government sign the International Red Cross Convention. In 1881 Congress passed the needed legislation, and the American Association of the Red Cross was formed. Miss Barton was subsequently elected president.

The first field work of the society was done in 1882, when the Mississippi overflowed. Miss Barton started for the scene with a meager fund, but aid soon poured in and more resources were supplied than were needed, so that a surplus was put by for the next great disaster. In the next year the Ohio floods and the Louisiana cyclone, and in the following year Mississippi and Ohio floods again called out the Red Cross workers.

In 1884, the Government having appropriated \$3000 for the purpose, Miss Barton went abroad with two other delegates to represent the American Red Cross at the International Convention, at Geneva. In 1886 the drought in Texas and the Charleston earthquake sent the Red Cross agents hurry-

ing to the scenes of suffering and death. In 1887 Miss Barton again represented the United States Government at the court of the Grand Duke of Baden, and in the same year she relieved the sufferers from the Mt. Vernon cyclone.

In the Johnstown disaster Miss Barton was in the field, and the distribution of clothing was under the personal supervision of the National Red Cross headquarters. The society expended \$40,000 at Johnstown.

Judicious Distributions.

The Sea Island hurricanes gave the last occasion to the Red Cross for taking the field. Tide and flood combined to strip the low-lying Carolina Islands coast of almost every inhabitant, to destroy crops and homes, and to destroy hundreds of people. It was estimated that 30,000 were in need of food. The colossal work of feeding this population was undertaken a month after the disaster by the Red Cross Society, under Miss Barton. Within three months the society received nearly \$30,000. Rations and lumber were given out, men paid in rations to rebuild ruined houses, and the district made self-supporting as far as possible. The work of relief was, on the whole, well done, although it met criticisms. The aggregate amount distributed was not large, and the rations small. But a little goes a long way in the simple life of a negro population, living on fish and crops of their own raising.

The associate society of the Red Cross of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Pancoast is President, was the first organized body in the field at Johnstown. Thirty hours from the first call to action, supplies for almost any possible emergency, with food, clothing, medicine and a completely appointed hospital camping equipage and field corps departed for the field. This relief corps had at one time three hospitals in operation.

The Red Cross of Geneva.

For thirteen years since the United States signed the Geneva Convention, the Red Cross Association of this country has been known chiefly, we might say, through Miss Clara Barton.

The Civil War had seen such aid to the wounded as the world had never witnessed. The gathering at Geneva was in part due to this demonstration of what could be done by private effort supplementing insufficient military provision in war. The Geneva Cross, long familiar as a badge of aid and mercy among Hospitallers and Knights of Malta, had been used as a hospital signal in the Civil War. The Geneva Convention of 1864 really did little more than recognize and embody in the law of nations the ameliorations of the horrors of war, which American experience had shown possible.

Miss Clara Barton and four members of her staff sailed from New York on January 22d, 1896, for England, intending to visit the international committees and do their best to secure entrance into Turkey. Just after they sailed word was received from Constantinople through Minister Terrell to the effect that Miss Barton would be allowed entrance herself, and that any persons whom she might designate to undertake relief work would be permitted to do so by the Turkish Government, although they were not willing for the Red Cross as a distinct organization to take general charge of relief. Upon arriving at Constantinople Miss Barton immediately began her work of relief.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Cause and Extent of the Recent Atrocities.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK DAVIS GREENE, M. A.,

Recently of the City of Van, Armenia.

It is not possible, in the brief limits of this article, to treat the Turkish massacres except in bare outline and on general principles. They have been so numerous and so vast that many volumes could be filled with their details. But it is doubtful if any good purpose would be served by the recital of such a mass of horrors. They would soon cease to be horrors. One of the most deplorable results of the recent Armenian atrocities is the evident and growing callousness in regard to them, on the part of nations and individuals who have been supposed to be Christian, or at least civilized. Perhaps we would be nearer the truth in considering this callousness a revelation of the real character of the times, rather than a result of listening to crimes committed by others. This raises again the ominous question whether civilization is necessarily progress, and whether the Christianity of to-day is Christian.

In spite of all that has been written and said on the subject, there are many who find it hard to comprehend the awful character and extent of the massacres of Turkey. They are such an anachronism, so foreign to the spirit of the age, as to seem unreal—in fact, impossible under any European Government. But it must be remembered that Turkey herself is an anachronism, and that she is not simply foreign, but hostile to the spirit of the age. This fact is continually obscured by the

diplomats of Europe and America, who persist in treating Turkey as if she belonged to the family of civilized nations. The case is analogous to that of a man who, for political or business reasons, sees fit to take a thief into partnership, or to allow a libertine to marry his daughter. As partner or son-in-law, of course, the man has rights; the mistake consists in giving him that status.

The Koran Sanctions Massacre.

In the politico-religious organization which is called the Ottoman Empire, massacre is considered a legitimate, necessary and very useful method of administering the country. It is sanctioned by the Koran, which is the foundation, and in fact the constitution of the State, is advocated by Mohammedan clergy and teachers, and is executed under the direction of the military and civil authorities, who are duly rewarded and honored by the Sultan.

The Armenian massacres that have shocked the world, so far from being exceptional, are, therefore, exactly in harmony with Turkish theory and justified by abundant precedent. They were to have been expected. One might almost calculate the law of massacre in Turkey. It recurs with the regularity of a baleful comet, which seems to spring out of nothingness, but which has a fixed orbit and is impelled by a mighty power. Counting only the Turkish massacres in which ten thousand or more perished, we find that in the past seventy-five years there have been five, recurring at intervals of about fifteen years.

These outbreaks were in widely separated localities, and the victims, belonging to five distinct races, aggregate one hundred and twenty thousand. These figures do not include foreign enemies or rebellious subjects of the Sultan, resisting with arms in their hands. They were all helpless inhabitants

of the land, of both sexes and of all ages, and by a curious coincidence were in each case non-Mohammedan.

Turkey's Massacre Account, as given in *The Armenian Crisis*, page 96, where the authorities are quoted, stands about as follows :

1822. Greeks, especially in the island of Scio.....	50,000
1850. Nestorians and Armenians, Kurdistan.....	10,000
1860. Maronites and Syrians, Lebanon and Damascus....	11,000
1876. Bulgarians, European Turkey.....	10,000
1894-'95. Armenians, Asiatic Turkey.....	40,000
Total.....	121,000

In addition to the above, there were smaller massacres of Cretans in 1866, of Armenians in 1877, and of Yezidees in Mesopotamia in 1892. It thus appears that seven distinct Christian races in Turkey, besides the Yezidees, who are also non-Mohammedan, have in turn been visited with this awful experience. Turkish statesmen, like the Oriental doctors generally, have great faith in blood-letting as a remedy for the diseases of the State. They do not trouble themselves to diagnose the case, much less to prepare medicine to correct the system. It is sufficient to know that there is a fever of some kind, and that loss of blood will reduce the temperature.

Death to "Infidels."

The immediate occasion of all these massacres has been political ; but this should not obscure the permanent underlying cause, which is always religious. Why are these Christian races successively attacked and prostrated? Because they, in turn, have felt the stimulating influences of a higher civilization and ideal, and have begun to show signs of life and progress. Why cannot this be allowed to go on? Because no *giaour*, or "infidel," has a right to live in a

Mohammedan state except in subjection—subjection which means not simply submission, but distinct inequality and humiliation. In the Koran, Sura ix. it is written :

“Fight against those who believe not . . . until, (1) they pay tribute, (2) admitting subjection, and until (3) they be *brought low*.”

This is a standing declaration of war against all Christian nations, the carrying out of which is limited only by ability.

An Infamous Prayer.

The statement is frequently made, and on high authority, that “the present Sultan is scrupulously faithful to the requirements of his religion.” While this sincerity and zeal are to his credit, as a follower of the Prophet, they absolutely disqualify him as a just and humane ruler of millions of Christians. Let us see what his religion requires of him. An official prayer of Islam which is used throughout Turkey, and daily repeated in the Cairo “Azhar” University by ten thousand Mohammedan students from all lands, is as follows :

“I seek refuge with Allah from Satan, the accursed. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful! O Lord of all Creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion! O Allah! Make their children orphans, and defile their abodes! Cause their feet to slip; give them and their families, their households and their women, their children and their relations by marriage, their brothers and their friends, their possessions and their race, their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all Creatures!”

According to this prayer, which is translated directly from the Arabic, to kill, to plunder and to defile the Christians are not only legitimate, but obligatory. The late massacres are a fulfillment of this prayer, which the “Faithful” have them-

selves executed. The most terrible commentary upon the moral influence of the Mohammedan religion is the complacency with which even educated and intelligent Moslems regard these awful and revolting deeds. As soon as the Armenian massacres were an assured success, the Sultan himself is reported to have become good-humored, and to have lost the anxious look which he had worn for months. This was due, no doubt, as much to his having scored a diplomatic and political triumph, as to the approval of a good conscience.

The Animus of the Atrocities.

“But how,” it may be asked, “can the successful execution of these massacres be considered a diplomatic triumph?” The triumph consists in this, that by disposing of so large a proportion of the Armenians, the Sultan has at the same time disposed of the hated Scheme of Reforms, which he had been forced by Europe nominally to accept. These reforms, though partial in application, involved, in principle, the civil equality of Christian and Moslem, and this, from the Turkish standpoint, would imperil the foundation of the State. The mere asking of such reforms and the intrusting their execution to the Turks, was a stultification on the part of the diplomats who demanded them; for it does not lie within the power of Abdul Hamid, as the Caliph of Islam and the successor of the Prophet, to grant them.

By insisting that the Armenians should have a proportionate representation in the administration of certain provinces, the Powers placed a price on the head of every Armenian. By failing to protect them in this critical position with a prompt and decisive use of force, they are guilty of a share in their destruction. The “Powers,” impotent for good, while masquerading in the livery of Christianity, have proved its

worst enemies. But for their assurances the Christians would not have shown the restiveness and expectancy, which by rousing the apprehension of the Moslems, hastened and intensified their vengeance.

The Powers have not only failed disastrously in their efforts to help the Armenians, but they have closed the doors against such efforts in their behalf in the future. The remedy, owing to the bungling method of application, has been far worse than the disease, and is not likely to be soon tried again. The hope of bringing about just this result encouraged the Turkish Government to do its worst. The late massacres are not unlike the tantrums into which an ill-trained child deliberately throws itself in order to gain its ends when disciplined by parents who are not united, wise and firm.

The Knot is Cut by the Sword.

Such considerations as the above, both political and religious, have governed the Palace and the Porte in returning to massacre as a method of settling the diplomatic tangle and the reform question at the same time. But lower and more personal motives inspired the blind tools of the Government by whose hands the outrages were committed—namely, the Turkish soldiery and populace and the Kurds and Circassians. Plunder was the chief motive with the latter classes, who swept over the country like a swarm of locusts, everywhere declaring that they had received authorization for their raids. Kurds seldom kill, except when resisted and to strike terror.

The Turks, however, while outstripping the Kurds, even as plunderers, devoted special attention to killing, and that, too, in most cruel and revolting forms. The Kurd, though ruder, is by nature more noble than the Turk. The Turk has sensual and truculent possibilities that have never been equaled by

any other race. These qualities, under ordinary conditions, are latent, and are often most subtly concealed by the Turk, even at the very moment when they are in active operation. While the soldiers were laboriously butchering a thousand helpless Armenians, entrapped in the great church at Urfa, on December 28th last, their officers found time to make gallant calls on Miss Shattuck, the only foreigner in the city, and to calmly assure her that there was no cause for alarm.

It is this dignified and self-possessed manner of the Turk, which he can always command, that has so often charmed and deceived Europeans, who have had only a brief and superficial view of him in Constantinople drawing-rooms. The Turk can also pass in an instant to an air of brutal ferocity and apparently uncontrollable passion, if the circumstances justify it and make it safe.

They Are Martyrs.

The question may arise in the minds of some, whether, inasmuch as these massacres were perpetrated for political reasons largely, and for plunder, the victims can rightly be considered martyrs. The answer is, in general, Yes; for the crime of the Armenians is, after all, that they are Christians, and a change of faith would have saved them. There are many authenticated cases of deliberate martyrdom inflicted publicly, after repeated demands to deny Christ had been rejected.

Another question is, whether Mohammedanism can be held responsible for these massacres and outrages. The answer is, again, in general, Yes, as has been already shown. Even the cruel and lustful accompaniments of the outrages are traceable to the religion of the Prophet, which, like an intoxicant, turns loose the basest passions of our nature.

The statistics of the recent outrages will never be accur-

ately known, but the most careful figures thus far received, though partial, are as follows: In the table below, the first numbers given refer to the six provinces to which the Scheme of Reforms applied, namely, Erzurûm, Sivas, Harpût, Diarbekir, Bitlis and Van, and the second number to the outside adjoining provinces of Trebizond, Angora, Adana and Aleppo.

Total population of the six provinces	3,509,800
Total population of the four provinces	2,388,500
Total	5,898,300
Armenians in the six provinces	827,600
Armenians in the four provinces	264,400
Total	1,092,000
Houses and shops plundered in the six provinces . .	43,769
Houses and shops plundered in the four provinces . .	3,247
Total	47,016
Houses and shops burned in the six provinces . . .	11,812
Houses and shops burned in the four provinces . . .	815
Total	12,627
Number killed in the six provinces	29,107
Number killed in the four provinces	7,668
Total	36,775
Number forced to accept Islam in the six provinces .	36,300
Number forced to accept Islam in the four provinces .	4,650
Total	40,950
Number left entirely destitute in the six provinces . .	247,300
Number left entirely destitute in the four provinces . .	43,000
Total	290,300

It thus appears that about nine-tenths of the outrages occurred within the six provinces to which the Reform Scheme applied. The Sultan professed to accept the reforms on October 16th, 1895, and the above figures show with what

energy, zeal and good faith he carried them out; for most of the work was done within one month of that date. There can be no doubt that the Sultan deserves credit for these "reforms," for he claims it himself, assuring Lord Salisbury, in a letter made public at his request, that they were being executed under his personal direction. Kurds and soldiers have constantly declared that they were simply obeying the Sultan's orders, and that this was the case is clear from the fact that no one has been punished for disobedience, not even the officials in whose presence the American colony at Harpût was bombarded, plundered and burnt out of home four months ago. It has repeatedly been proved that these outbreaks were carefully prearranged by disarming Christians, and by prescribing limits as to place, time, duration and method of execution.

CHAPTER XXXII.

To the Rescue.

BY THE REV. EDWARD G. PORTER.

THE Armenian relief movement began more than five hundred years ago, in the reign of Edward III., when three Armenian refugees found their way to England and obtained an audience of the King at Reading. They brought tidings of a fearful massacre by the Ottoman Turks, who had overrun Armenia and compelled great numbers of the inhabitants to submit to the dread alternative of Islam or the sword. The strangers obtained generous aid from the King and people of England, and went back to the East loaded with gifts for the sufferers.

From that day to this, at certain intervals, the Turk has been guilty of the same atrocious deeds. Five hundred years have taught him nothing. He is still slaying his victims by the thousand, and leaving the survivors to perish from cold, nakedness and hunger. The latest tidings seem worse than ever. It is said that 60,000 have been slain, and as many more wounded, outraged, imprisoned, or abducted, leaving half a million utterly impoverished. This is a frightful tale, but alas! it is too true. The evidence admits of no question. Even if no one can give the exact figures, the situation is appalling. So great is the number of the needy that the charity of Christendom is invoked on their behalf.

This outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism began with the Sassûn atrocities in September, 1894. The Porte did its best to conceal and then to deny the report of this terrific slaugh-

ter, and Europe was slow to believe it; but the truth came at last, and an investigating commission was demanded. It proved a total failure, through Turkish obstructiveness and duplicity.

Finding that nothing was done to relieve the distress of the sufferers, a few friends of humanity in England organized a relief committee and appealed to the public for funds. The response was meagre. A few meetings were held in Massachusetts and elsewhere in the spring of 1895, and emphatic resolutions were sent to our Government. During the summer and early autumn further details arrived, setting forth the horrors of the massacre and the great need of relief. Committees were then formed in New York and Boston, and a few thousand dollars were sent out for the use of Dr. Raynolds and Mr. Cole, the distributing agents for the Anglo-American relief fund, under the protection of the British Consul.

A Carnival of Blood.

In October the reforms which England had proposed in May received the Sultan's unwilling signature. The discussion of these reforms during the intervening months, and the presence of the European fleets in Turkish waters, had led the Armenians to anticipate speedy intervention. The same consideration, however, led the Moslems, inflamed by fanatical zeal, to adopt a policy of defiance and extermination. Within forty-eight hours of the Sultan's acceptance of the reforms the decree had gone forth, and the hideous saturnalia began. Under Imperial license the Kurdish marauders and the Turkish authorities joined hands in a carnival of blood that has lasted ever since.

This new revelation of the spirit of Islam has encountered in our country a storm of indignation. The pulpit, the press, the Senate, the club, have freely uttered the popular sentiment

of abhorrence for the oppressor and of sympathy for the oppressed. Every one was asking what could be done to stop the butcheries and to help the starving refugees. To the former question—strange to say—there has been no answer. To the latter the reply was prompt, loud and clear. Relief was possible, the transmission of funds safe, and distributing agents were already on the field in the persons of the American missionaries, over one hundred in number.

Urgent Appeals for Relief.

The existing committees soon issued additional information with appeals for money. All gifts were now acknowledged in the papers. Special meetings were held in thousands of churches. An Armenian Sunday was observed by many. Dispatches from the East and a flood of private letters of the most harrowing kind were widely published. Collections were taken in churches, Sunday-schools, societies, colleges and mass meetings. A few weekly papers opened their columns for relief subscriptions. Of these the *Christian Herald*, up to February 20th, 1896, reported the creditable sum of \$23,500; the *Outlook*, over \$3,000; the *Montreal Witness*, about \$4,000; the *Canada Presbyterian*, Toronto, \$540; the *Lend-a-Hand*, about \$1,300. A few individuals, like Mr. Bogigian and Mr. Gulesian, of Boston, and Miss Mary Hamlin, of Hampton, have collected funds privately to the amount of several thousand dollars. Dr. Field, of Bangor, has raised \$640 in small sums for Van. About a thousand Armenians in this country have contributed from their slender resources during the last two months no less than \$33,000, sent through their friend, the Rev. M. H. Hitchcock, of Boston, to their surviving relatives, nine-tenths of whom live in the Harpût district and are in a most destitute condition.

An Armenian relief fund committee of nine was organized

in New York in August, and soon after enlarged to sixteen members. The object of this organization was to give a national character to the movement as far as possible, and to secure a larger financial response. When the Red Cross decided to take the field, the National Committee made an agreement to supply it with funds, as did the Boston committee. Each of these committees cabled \$25,000 to Miss Barton on her arrival, and the National Committee acknowledged the receipt of over \$60,000 for her use.

The press has done most effective service, and the clergy have been foremost in arousing public attention. It is a noticeable fact that the great cities do not give in any such proportion as the smaller towns and country churches. Very few large subscriptions have yet been received. Ordinary collections will not meet the exigencies of the case. The appeal is to business men, to large firms and bankers and persons of means.

Systematic Collections.

In every city there should be canvassing committees, appointed by the Mayor or the Board of Trade or some other responsible authority, to circulate subscription lists in person among the trades or professions, and acknowledge the amounts in the newspapers. Wherever this method is followed it yields far more than any other. Money only is called for; clothing, food supplies, jewelry and other gifts are not solicited. Such important business should, indeed, be organized systematically, like a political campaign, and then it will not fail of good results.

It is gratifying to know that the funds sent by the responsible committees have been at once disbursed among the needy in the afflicted districts of the interior without the loss of a single dollar. The arrival of Miss Barton upon the scene is

hailed as a promise that official protection will now enable the distributors to execute their sacred trust with greater freedom and on a larger scale. It should also be known that the expenses of the President of the Red Cross and her personal staff are provided for from private sources. The relief funds forwarded from this country during the autumn and winter may be summed up approximately as follows :

Through the American Board	\$110,000
“ “ Red Cross (Brown Bros. & Co.) about . .	55,000
“ other channels, perhaps	10,000
<hr/>	
Total	\$175,000

The English relief committee, feeling keenly the failure of their own Government to discharge its treaty obligations toward the Armenians, have sought to make such reparation as was possible by means of private charity. At the suggestion of the Dean of Winchester, the Christmas offerings in many churches were devoted to this cause. A special hymn was composed for the occasion, suggested by Rom. 16: 20—“And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.”

Funds sent from England.

The Duke of Westminster, as chairman, addressed a formal letter, February 1st, to the Mayors of the United Kingdom, calling upon them to initiate local relief measures. In response subscriptions have been opened by the Mayors of Manchester, Bradford, Salisbury, Dublin and other places. It is thought that about £20,000 have been sent by this committee through the British Ambassador, and distributed by the consuls and American missionaries.

In Constantinople a considerable sum has been raised among the Armenians and foreign residents. Several of the embassies have opened a relief fund. The upper story of the Bible House in Stambûl—a fine, large edifice—has become a

depository for clothing and other goods. Hundreds of women, mostly Armenian, have devoted all their time to collecting, preparing and forwarding the articles.

Gratitude of the Sufferers.

Russian, Austrian and English steamers in the Black Sea have given free passage to the refugees from Trebizond and Samsun. No report has appeared of relief work undertaken on the Continent of Europe.

The Armenians everywhere are expressing the deepest gratitude for what the people of America are doing. Far more, however, needs yet to be done, if we would save the remnant of this long-oppressed nation, whose martyrs have stood so valiantly for the faith of the Cross on the outermost borders of Christendom.

In reference to the above relief work, *The Independent* makes the following statement :

It is of no use to mince words in the matter. We have here recounted the worst cruelties of which fanatical hatred is capable. The Turkish Government had come to believe that there was danger of an Armenian uprising. Instead of attempting to arrest and punish those who incited it, they determined to crush out by pillage and slaughter, by abduction of women and the forced conversion of men, the Armenian population itself; they determined that there should be no Armenian question in the future, and for a year and a half the slaughters have been going on and have not yet ceased.

The very day that we write we receive news of late massacres in Birejik which have nearly or quite wiped out the Christian population by sword and forced conversion, and converted the Protestant school into a Turkish college. For all this the larger part of Christendom does not seem to care.

Russia is perfectly indifferent to the wails of Christians, and only considers whether it can get Constantinople; Germany is shockingly apathetic, and France as yet is silent, both fawning on Russia. Possibly France may awake; for we observe that within the last two or three weeks the French Catholic missionaries in Turkey are adding their terrible testimony, confirming everything that had come to England and America.

Paralysis of Governments.

The Christian people in England and the United States do seem to be stirred up in the matter, but they also seem to have no influence upon their Governments. The British Government has shown a weakness which deserves and appears likely to receive retribution; and only a few of our own Senators and Representatives in Congress appear to imagine that anything more is necessary than a passing expression of opinion.

It is easy enough to arouse them on the subject of an insurrection in Cuba, carried on with a ferocity which leaves little to choose between one side or the other, and where each side has abundant opportunity to fight or to fly; but the sight in the sacred Bible lands of scores of thousands of men and women dying for their faith or compelled to renounce their faith seems to excite but languid interest. The old heroic spirit which led Christians to stand by each other appears to fail, or we would see Christian powers rivaling each other, instead of hindering each other, in their zeal to avenge the Lord's slaughtered saints and preserve the right of Christianity to exist against the sword of Islam.

We do not like to give up the hope that our Government may do something more; but at least we must insist that the very amplest protection be given to our citizens in Turkey. If the call of humanity, the call of Christianity, the voice of

Christ's brethren, sick or in prison, anhungered or athirst, is not heeded by our Government, at least let there be no half-heartedness in compelling protection to be given, or ourselves giving protection, to our citizens in Turkey and securing reparation for every deed of wrong done to them. We are not among those who believe it impossible to do more; but this must be done.

And if our Government cannot do anything for the poor sufferers, American Christians can do something individually. Our own missionaries can distribute relief, and we have sent the representatives of the Red Cross also to take charge of this work, with their advice. We are not at all satisfied with the \$200,000 that has already gone to Turkey from the United States. Five times as much ought to be sent within a month. We beg our readers to waste no time in this matter. We beg every pastor and every church that has not yet taken up a contribution for this purpose to do it, as desired by the National Armenian Relief Committee, and to send the contributions, just as soon as possible, to the treasurers, Brown Brothers & Co., 59 Wall Street, New York, for immediate transfer to Constantinople, where they will be administered by the Red Cross Society.

Call for Co-operation.

Not nearly enough has yet been done; the urgency is greater than ever. The men and women are on the ground who can do the work. They must be supported. Local relief organizations ought to be formed in every city and large town to co-operate with the National Committee. This is the very least that can be done. If we cannot interfere for the protection of the sufferers from slaughter and forced conversion, we can at least do this.

We may think ourselves unable to protect that Armenian,

who, when threatened for telling what he knew, said that he would tell no more ; that if called up he would deny what he had previously testified to, and who said : " I think rather than make twenty savages my enemies by telling the truth, it is better to make one God my enemy for telling a lie, and He will forgive me afterward ;" but we can at least cover the nakedness of his wife and children. If we decline to interfere to protect the honor of mothers and maidens, we can at least keep them from starving afterward. We are ashamed if this is all we will do ; we are ashamed that Christian nations satisfy themselves with praying for the curse of God on such assassins and upon such a Government and upon such a religion, instead of giving the utterance of their swords and bayonets to God's vengeance.

CHAPTEK XXXIII.

What One May See in Armenia.

BY FRANK G. CARPENTER.

MILLIONS of dollars will be required for the relief of Armenia, it is estimated. Miss Barton tells me at least 350,000 of its people are now on the verge of starvation, and that these will need support for from eight to ten months. She does not think a relief expedition should be undertaken at all without \$500,000 is contributed at the start, and she says that effective work will require an expenditure of millions. The Red Cross Society has no funds of its own. It has not appealed to the people for money, but, at the request of the religious bodies of the United States, has merely announced its willingness to distribute such funds as the people may raise for the purpose.

The amounts required for such a relief are enormous. I was in Russia during the last famine, and the people there ate up between two and three million dollars' worth of food every day. This was kept up for months, and I was told that the famine cost very nearly a half billion dollars. The private gifts of the Russians amounted to \$180,000,000. The Government gave nearly as much, and the present Czar, who was then the crown prince, was at the head of the relief fund. Our gifts to Russia in food and money amounted to less than a million dollars. They were merely a drop in the bucket in comparison to what was given by the Russians themselves. In Russia it was estimated that one person could be fed for five cents a day.

It will probably cost more than this in Armenia, as all of the food will have to be brought in from Europe. But even at five cents a person it will require \$17,500 a day, or more than half a million dollars a month for the food alone of those who are now starving. In addition money will be needed for clothes and shelter during the winter. The farmers will have to be aided in planting their crops, and it is hard to see how the people can be kept from now until harvest for less than \$5,000,000. In this relief every cent will have to come from the outside, and if the other nations of Europe do not unite with us, it is doubtful whether enough funds can be raised to do effective work. The rich Armenians living outside of Turkey will probably help, and considerable aid may be expected from them.

The Yankees of the Orient.

The Armenians are the Yankees of the Orient. They are the brightest, brainiest and smartest of all the people of Asia Minor. They are superior to the Jews or Greeks in business. The Turks say, "twist a Yankee and you make a Jew, twist a Jew and you make an Armenian." The Greeks say that "one Greek is equal to two Jews, but that one Armenian is equal to two Greeks." Another proverb current in Turkey is, "From the Greeks of Athens, from the Jews of Salonica, and from the Armenians everywhere, good Lord deliver us!" I met the Armenians everywhere during my travels in Asia Minor, and I found them acting at the heads of all kinds of business.

There are many rich Armenians in India. I traveled with one coming from Singapore to Calcutta, who told me he was on his way back from Hong Kong, where he had gone to sell pearls to the Chinese. I found the conductors on the Egyptian railroads to be Armenians, and when I traveled over the

Transcontinental Railway to Paris the guards on the train and the men who took up my ticket were Armenians, who spoke English and French. There are hundreds of thousands of Armenians in Europe. There are a large number in Persia, and those who live in different parts of Turkey are said to number about 1,000,000. There are a number in Constantinople. They manage most of the banking business of the Turkish capital, and the large mercantile establishments there belong to them. When the riots occurred in Stamboul a few weeks ago nearly all the stores were closed, their Armenian owners fearing they would be looted by the mob.

When I visited the Government departments of the Sultan I found that though the chief officers were Turks, the clerks were, in most cases, Armenians, and the brightest man whom I met in Turkey was one of the Sultan's secretaries, who was of Armenian birth. He spoke a half dozen different languages and was a man of great influence. There are Armenian engineers, architects and doctors in Constantinople, and when I got money on my letter of credit it was an Armenian clerk who figured up the exchange, and an Armenian cashier who handed out the money. The Armenians of Armenia proper are almost all farmers, and the exorbitant taxes of the Sultan have made the most of them poor.

The Armenian Patriarch.

I saw a large number of Armenian pilgrims during one Easter that I spent at Jerusalem. They had come from all parts of Asia Minor to pray at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They have a Patriarch at Jerusalem who leads them in these celebrations. He is a tall, thin man with a long, gray beard, and a face not unlike that of the typical Georgia cracker. He usually wears a long gown, and has a little skull cap on the crown of his head. During the Easter

celebration his head was covered with a tiara, which blazed with diamonds, and his gown was a gorgeous silk robe, which was decorated with diamonds. The Armenians are, you know, Christians, and their customs are much like those of the Greek Church. They have monasteries and churches scattered throughout Asia Minor, and they claim to be the oldest of all Christian people.

Holiest of All Lands.

The Armenians assert that their country is the holiest land upon earth. It lies in Asia Minor, southeast of the Black Sea, and between it and Persia. Mount Ararat is situated in it, not far from the locality in which these outrages are now taking place, and some of the monasteries claim to have pieces of the identical ark in which Noah landed upon this mountain, and there is a ravine near it which is pointed out as the site of Noah's vineyard. The vineyard has a monastery connected with it, and the monks show a withered old vine, which they assert is the very one from which was made the wine which made Noah drunk. He cursed it after he got over his spree, and it has borne no grapes unto this day. Noah's wife is said to be buried on Mount Ararat, and the Armenians trace their ancestry back to Japhet in one long genealogical tree.

They have a tradition that the Garden of Eden was located in Armenia. It was situated almost in the centre of the region where the worst massacres have occurred, and it is now one of the barren parts of the country. The Armenians believe that the wise men of the East, who followed the star of Bethlehem to find the young Christ, came from Armenia, and that the star first appeared in the heavens not far from Mount Ararat.

Another curious Armenian tradition is as to Adam's fall. According to this, when Adam was in the Garden of Eden

his body was covered with nails, like those which we have on our fingers and toes. These nails overlapped each other like the scales of a fish, thus giving him an invulnerable armor. After the fall the nails all dropped off except from the ends of his fingers and toes, where they remain to this day to remind man of his lost immortality. The Armenians say that when God made Adam of clay he had a little piece left over. He threw this upon the ground, and as it fell it became gold and formed all the gold of the world. The Armenians believe in the Bible, and they are naturally a religious people.

The Armenian Women.

The condition of the women of Armenia is now terrible. They have no refuge from the Turks, and outrages of all descriptions are perpetrated, ending in death. In some of the Armenian cities during the late massacres, the girls were collected into the churches and were kept there for days at the pleasure of the soldiers before they were killed. One statement describes how sixty young brides were so treated and how the blood ran out under the church doors at the time of their murders.

These Armenian women are among the most attractive of the far East. I saw a number of them during my trip through Asia Minor. They have large, dark, luminous eyes, with long eye-lashes, and their complexion is that of rich cream. Many of them have rosy cheeks and luscious red lips. They are tall and straight, becoming soon fat after marriage. They are very intelligent, and not a few of them are married to Turks.

These women have a dress of their own. They wear red fez caps with long tassels, much like some of the country girls of Greece. The richer ladies wear loose jackets, lined with fur, and long, plain skirts of silk or fine wool. In the

province of Van, where some of the outrages have occurred, the girls wear trousers under their skirts which are tied at the ankles.

Some have long, sleeveless jackets, or cloaks, reaching almost to the feet and open at the sides up to the waists, and others wear gorgeous head-dresses, covering the front of their caps with gold coins, which hang down over their foreheads. Girls often wear their whole dowry on their persons, and in massacres like those which have occurred, rings are torn from the ears, arms are cut off for bracelets, and many a woman is killed for her jewelry. The poorer women are hard workers. Nearly every household has some kind of labor by which it adds to its income. Some of the finest embroideries we get from Turkey are made by Armenian women, the best of the work being done by hand in hovels.

Armenian Houses.

The houses in which the Armenians live are different in different countries. In many of the cities of Turkey there is an Armenian quarter, and the older Armenian houses of Smyrna are built like forts. They have no windows facing the street, and it has only been of late years when the people have considered themselves safe from religious mobs, such as have lately occurred, that they have built houses more like the Turks. In Armenia proper, where the outrages are going on, the poorer classes have homes which would hardly be considered fit for cows in America. The cow, in fact, lives with the family. The houses are all of one story, and it is not uncommon to build a house against the side of a hill, in order to save the making of a back wall. The roofs are flat, and are often covered with earth, upon which grass and flowers grow, and upon which the sheep sometimes are pastured.

The floors are usually sunken below the level of the roadway, and the ordinary window is of about the size of a port-hole. You go down steps to enter the house, and you find a cow stable on one side, and on the other the kitchen and private apartments of the family. Each room has a stone fireplace, and the cooking is done with fuel of cow-dung mixed with straw. There are no tables and very few chairs. The animal heat of the cattle aids the fire in keeping the family warm, and all of their living arrangements are of the simplest and cheapest nature. The houses of the better class are more comfortable, and in the big Turkish cities some of the rich Armenians have beautiful homes. The Armenian women are good housekeepers. They are much more cleanly than the Turks, and even their hovels are kept clean.

Queer Marriage Customs.

They have a better home life than the Turks. A man can have but one wife, but the families of several generations often live in one house, in which case the daughter-in-law is, to a large extent, the servant of her husband's family. She has to obey her father-in-law, and during the first days of her married life she is not allowed to speak to her husband's parents, or any of the family who are older than herself, until her father-in-law gives her permission. Up to this time she wears a red veil, as a badge of her subjection, and this veil is often kept on until her first baby is born. Armenian girls are married very young. Eleven or twelve is considered quite old enough, and women are still young when they have sons aged twenty.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or by go-betweens. The usual wedding-day is Monday, and on the Friday before the marriage the bride is taken to the bath with great ceremony. On Saturday she gives a big feast to her girl friends.

On Sunday there is a feast for the boys, and on Monday the wedding takes place. It usually occurs at the church, where the priest blesses the ring and makes prayers over the wedding garments. There are numerous other ceremonies, making the wedding last from three to eight days. One curious custom is that shortly after her return from the church the children present rush to pull off the bride's stockings, in which have been hidden some coins of money for the occasion, and another is the placing of a baby boy on the knee of the bride, as she sits beside the groom on the divan, with the wish that she may become a happy mother.

Mohammedan Fanatics.

The real cause of these outrages is, to a large extent, religious fanaticism. The better classes of the Turks and the more intelligent of the Mohammedans would probably stop them if they could. The Sultan has, I am told, tried to do so, but he is afraid of his life. He realizes that if the common people get the idea that he is false to his religion he is almost sure of assassination. The Imans and the Sheiks, or, in other words, the Mohammedan priests, to a large extent, rule Turkey to-day. They are, in most cases, ignorant and intolerant. At the head of them is the Sheik-ul Islam, or Grand Mufti. He is appointed by the Sultan, and the Sultan cannot kill him so long as he holds his title, though he can depose him.

The Sultan himself cannot be deposed unless the Grand Mufti so decrees. He is a sort of a supreme judge in addition to his religious character. Among the Mohammedan fanatics there are a large number known as dervishes, who roam about from country to country inciting trouble. They are walking delegates, as it were, for the killing of Christians. They stimulate the religious zeal of the people and make violent speeches against unbelievers. They fast much, and they have curious methods of worship.

One class is known as the whirling dervishes whom you may see any Friday going through their worship in Constantinople. They dress in long white robes, fastened at the waist with black belts, and on their heads they wear high, sugar-loaf hats. They sing the Koran as they whirl about in the mosques. As they go on the chief priest makes prayers. They whirl faster and faster, until at last their long skirts stand out like those of a ballet dancer. They become red in the face, and some finally drop to the ground in fits.

Another class of these fanatics are the howlers. There is a great organization made up of these in Turkey, and they have probably been largely concerned in inciting feeling against the Armenians. I have visited their mosques, but I despair of adequately describing their religious gymnastics. They work themselves into a frenzy by gasping and howling out the name of God, and the dervishes of the interior parts of Turkey often take knives and cut themselves and each other in religious ecstasy. They go into epileptic fits and foam at the mouth, and the most of them think that the killing of a Christian is a sure passport to heaven. I would say, however, that these people are the cranks of Mohammedanism, and that they are not a fair sample of the Mohammedan world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Turks and their Religion.

THE question will fairly be asked, Why could not the Turks lay aside their old religion, as the Bulgarians and Magyars laid aside theirs, and embraced the religion of Europe as the Bulgarians and Magyars embrace it. The answer may be given in a very few words. The Bulgarians and Magyars could embrace Christianity, because they were heathens; the Ottoman Turks could not embrace Christianity, because they were Mahometans.

Because the Bulgarians and Magyars were further off from the religion and civilization of Europe than the Turks were, for that very reason they were able to adopt the religion and civilization of Europe and the Turks were not. This is a case in which we may reverse the familiar proverb, and say that no bread is practically better than half a loaf. That is to say, a half civilization stands as a hindrance in accepting a more perfect civilization. A half truth in religion stands in the way of accepting more perfect truth.

Experience proves this in all ages of European history. The rude nations of Western, Northern and Eastern Europe easily adopted the religion and civilization of Rome. No Mahometan nation has ever been known to accept Christianity; no nation that has reached the half civilization of the East has ever been known to accept the full civilization of the West. This fact, the fact of the wide distinction in these matters between the Ottoman Turks and the earlier Turanian settlers in Europe, is the very key of our whole subject.

The Turks are what they are, and they remain what they are, because their religion is Mahometan. It by no means follows that every Mahometan government must be as bad as the Ottoman government is now. For many Mahometan governments have been much better. But no Mahometan government can ever give to its subjects of other religions what we in Western Europe are used to look on as really good government. No Mahometan nation can really become part of the same community of nations as the Christian nations of Europe.

These positions make it needful to look a little further into the nature of the Mahometan religion, and into the relations which, under a Mahometan government, must always exist, between its Mahometan subjects and its subjects of other religions.

Christian and Mohammedan Faith.

This question is in itself a perfectly general one, not a special question between Mahometanism and Christianity, but a question between Mahometanism and all other religions. It is not needful here to inquire what would be the position of a nation of some third religion, neither Christian nor Mahometan. We need not ask whether such a nation could be really admitted into the European community, or whether it could give really good government to any Christian or Mahometan subjects that it might have. A great deal might be said in answer to such a question, as a matter of curious speculation. But the question is of no practical importance for our present subject. The only practical choice in Europe lies between Christianity and Mahometanism.

The practical point is that, whatever a nation of some third religion might do, a Mahometan nation cannot live on terms of real community with Christian nations; a Mahometan government cannot give real equality and good government to its

Christian subjects. The question in modern Europe lies between Christian and Mahometan, because all the nations of Europe besides the Turks are Christian. But it must be borne in mind that the question of the relation between Mahometans and Christians is only part of a greater question—that is, of the relation between Mahometans and men of other religions generally.

Rival Religions.

What is true of Mahometans and Christians in Europe, is, or has been, true of Mahometans and Pagans in Asia. It is true that the opposition between Mahometanism and Christianity in Europe has been sharper than the opposition between Mahometanism and other religions elsewhere. And this has come of two causes : first, because Christianity and Mahometanism are more distinctively rival religions than any other two religions that can be named ; secondly, because Christians in Europe have, for nearly four hundred years past, had little to do with any Mahometans except the Ottoman Turks—that is, with the fiercest and the most bigoted of all Mahometans.

Still, the relation between Mahometans and Christians in Southeastern Europe is only part of the general relation between Mahometans and men of other religions everywhere. What is true in the case of Southeastern Europe will be found to be true in the main, though it will often need some qualification, in every land where Mahometans have borne rule over men of any other creed.

The fact simply is that no Mahometan government ever has given or can give real equality to its subjects of other religions. It would be most unjust to put all Mahometan governments on a level in this matter. There have been Mahometan rulers who have avoided all wanton oppression of their non-Mahometan subjects ; but, even under the best Mahometan

rulers, the infidel, as he is deemed in Mahometan eyes, has never been really put on a level with the true believers.

Wherever Mahometans have borne rule, the Mahometan part of the population has always been a ruling race, and the Christian or other non-Mahometan part has always been a subject race. The truth is that this always must be so; it is an essential part of the Mahometan religion that it should be so.

The Christian may freely embrace Islam, and no Christian may hinder him from so doing. But for a Mahometan to embrace Christianity is a crime to be punished with death. Thus the non-Mussulman subjects of a Mussulman ruler sink to the condition of a subject people. In the case of a people conquered by Mussulman invaders, they sink into bondmen in their own land. They remain a distinct and inferior community, reminded in every act of their lives that the Mussulmans are masters and that they are servants. They so remain as long as they are faithful to their religion: by forsaking it, they may at any moment pass over to the ranks of their conquerors.

Thus every Christian under a Mussulman government is in truth confessor for his religion, as he might gain greatly by forsaking it. Still it is plain that such a state of things as this, grievous and degrading as it is, does not in theory involve any act of personal oppression. That is to say, though the Christian is treated in everything as inferior to the Mussulman, yet his life, his property, and the honor of his family might be safe. Under any Mahometan ruler who did his duty according to his own law, they would be safe, because the Christian by the payment of tribute purchases his right to all these things. But the great evil of a law which condemns any class of people to degradation is that the practice under such a law is sure to be worse than the law itself.

The relation between Christian and Mussulman under Mussulman rule is fixed, not by a law like an Act of Parliament, which may at any time be changed, but by a supposed divine law which cannot be changed. The relations between the Christian and the Mussulman, that is, the abiding subjection and degradation of the Christian, are matters of religious principle. The law enjoins neither persecution nor personal oppression; it enjoins toleration, though merely a contemptuous toleration. But when the toleration which the law enjoins is purely contemptuous, when the subjection of all religions but the dominant one is consecrated by a supposed divine sanction, it is almost certain that the practice will be worse than the law; it is almost certain that contemptuous toleration will pass into an ordinary state of personal oppression, varied by occasional outbursts of actual persecution.

The Law of the Koran.

So history shows that it has been. Instances may indeed be found in which Christians or other non-Mussulmans have fared better under a Mussulman government, than the law of the Koran prescribes; as a rule, they have fared worse. It could in truth hardly be otherwise. When the members of one religious body feel themselves to be, simply on account of their religion, the superiors and masters of their neighbors of another religion, the position is one which opens every temptation to the worst passions of the human heart. A man must have amazing command of himself, if, when it is his religious duty to treat a certain class of men as subject and degraded, he does not deal with them in a way which carries with it something yet more than subjection and degradation.

A bad man, even an average man, will be tempted every moment to add direct insult and oppression beyond what the letter of his law ordains. And so it has been in the history

of all Mahometan governments which have borne rule over subjects of other religions, especially over Christians. The best have been what we should call bad; and their tendency has been, like most bad things, to get worse.

The Christian subjects of Mahometan powers have often been much better off than Christian subjects of the Turk are now. But in no case have they been what we should call really well off, and the tendency has always been for **their** condition to get gradually worse and worse.

Propagated by the Sword.

The truth is that the Mahometan religion is, above all others, an aggressive religion. Every religion which does not confine itself to one nation, but which proclaims itself as the one truth for all nations, must be aggressive in one sense. That is to say, it must be anxious to bring men within its pale; in other words it must be a missionary religion. Now Mahometanism is eminently a missionary religion; but it is something more. It is aggressive in another sense than that of merely persuading men to embrace its doctrines. It lays down the principle that the faith is to be propagated by the sword.

Other religions, Christianity among them, have been propagated by the sword; but it is Mahometanism only which lays it down as a matter of religious duty that it should be so propagated. No ruler who forced Christianity by the sword on unwilling nations could say that any precept of the Gospel bade him do so. And, as the precepts of the Gospel have come to be better understood, most Christians have agreed that such a way of spreading the faith is altogether contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.

But the Mussulman who fights against the infidel till he makes his choice between the old alternatives of Koran or

Tribute is simply obeying the most essential precept of his religion. This duty of spreading the faith by the sword, which the Koran enforces on all Mussulmans, at once places the Mahometan religion in a specially hostile position towards all other religions. And furthermore the whole character of that religion makes it the special rival of Christianity.

A Bitter Strife.

Without going into questions of theological dogma, one main cause of this special rivalry between Christianity and Islam is because those two religions have so much in common. The Christian would say of the Mahometan, and the Mahometan would say of the Christian, that in each case the creed of the other had more of truth in it than there was in any other creed which was not the whole truth. As compared with heathen religions, the strife between Christianity and Mahometanism has the proverbial bitterness of the strifes of kinsfolk.

A few plain facts show the special rivalry of the two religions. Many heathen nations have embraced Christianity, and many have embraced Mahometanism. They have done so in both cases, sometimes freely, sometimes by force. And in both cases they have, by embracing either Christianity or Mahometanism, raised themselves in every way, moral, social, and religious. The advantage has been so clearly on the side of the Christian or Mahometan teacher that the heathens themselves have come to perceive it. But no Christian nation has ever embraced Mahometanism; no Mahometan nation has ever embraced Christianity. For they are distinctly rival religions, and not only rival religions, but religions which represent rival systems of social and political life.

Each holds itself to be theologically the one truth; each believes itself to represent a higher and better civil and social

system. And the Mahometan further believes that his civil and social system is directly of divine authority. Precepts which were admirable in the time and place where they were first given, precepts which were a great reform when Mahomet first preached them to the Arabs of the seventh century, have been forced, wherever the Mahometan power has spread itself, upon all nations for all time. Hence, while a Christian government is simply bound to shape its conduct according to the moral precepts of the Gospel, a Mahometan government is bound to enforce the Koran as the law of the land.

Hence, too, while the Gospel is altogether silent about the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers, while Christian nations have, therefore, settled that question in different ways at different times, the Mahometan religion settles it in one way for all time. Wherever the Mahometan system is fully carried out, the spiritual power carries the temporal power with it.

Every Act is Religious.

The successor of the Prophet, the Caliph, is Pope and Emperor in one. In the Mahometan system there is no distinction between Church and State, no distinction between religious and civil duty. Every action of a good Mussulman is not only done from a religious motive, but is done directly as a religious act. From this spring both the best and the worst features of the Mahometan system. This carrying of religion into everything, the swallowing up, as one may say, of the secular life in the religious life, leads to much that is good in the relations of Mahometans towards one another.

A good and earnest Mahometan, who carefully follows the precepts of his own law, must, at least towards men of his own faith, practice many of the moral virtues. The Mussulman too is never ashamed of his religion or of any of the

observances which it enjoins. And this is certainly more than we can say of all Christians. In short, if Islam had never gone beyond Arabia, we might have reckoned Mahomet among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The only fault which could in such a case have been laid to the charge of his system would be that, in reforming the old evils of the Eastern world, polygamy and slavery, he had forever consecrated them. The worst that we could have said of Islam within its own peninsula would have been that it was so great a reform as to make a still greater reform altogether hopeless.

Bad Features.

But this very feature which brings out so much good in the relations of Mahometans to one another is the very one which, before all others, makes Mahometanism the worst of all religions in its relation to men of any other religion. The feeling of exclusive religious pride and religious zeal which it engenders is very like that spirit of exclusive patriotic zeal and pride which may be seen in the history of various nations. The Mahometan has something in common with the old Roman. The good and the bad features of the old Roman character sprang from the same source. The Roman commonwealth was to him what the creed of Islam is to the sincere Mahometan. For the Roman commonwealth he would freely give himself, his life, and all that he had. Towards his fellow-citizens of that commonwealth he practiced many virtues.

But as he was ready to sacrifice himself to the commonwealth, so he was equally ready to sacrifice everything else. The rights of other nations, the very faith and honor of Rome herself, were as nothing in his eyes, if he deemed that the greatness of the commonwealth could be advanced by disre-

garding them. So it is with the Mahometan religion. No religion has ever called forth more intense faith, more self-sacrificing zeal, on the part of its own professors. But the one precept which corrupts all, the precept which bids the true believer to fight against the infidel, turns that very faith and zeal which have in them so much to be admired into the cruelest instruments of oppression against men of all other creeds.

Animus of the Crimes.

At this stage it may very likely be asked, and that not unfairly, whether it is meant to charge all Mahometan nations and all Mahometan governments with the crimes which disgrace the rule of the Ottoman Turks. The answer is easy. If it is meant to ask whether all Mahometan nations and governments have been guilty of those crimes in the same degree, we may unhesitatingly answer, No. There is a vast difference between one Mahometan nation or government and another, just as there is a vast difference between one Christian or Pagan nation or government and another. But it is none the less true that the crimes which mark the Ottoman rule spring directly from the principles of the Mahometan religion. They show the worst tendencies of that religion carried out in their extremest shape.

There have been other Mahometan powers under which those tendencies have not been allowed to reach the same growth. That is to say, there have been Mahometan governments which have been very far from being so bad as that of the Ottoman Turks. But under every Mahometan government those tendencies must exist in some degree; therefore, while some Mahometan governments have been far better than others, no Mahometan government can be really good according to our standard,

For no Mahometan government which rules over subjects which are not Mahometans can give really equal rights to all its subjects. The utmost that the best Mahometan ruler can do is to save his subjects of other religions from actual persecution, from actual personal oppression ; he cannot save them from degradation. He cannot, without forsaking the principles of his own religion, put them on the same level as Mussulmans. The utmost that he can do is to put his non-Mussulman subjects in a state which, in every Western country, would be looked upon as fully justifying them in revolting against his rule. And, as we have seen, the tendencies to treat them worse than this are almost irresistible. Among the Ottomans those tendencies have reached their fullest development.

The Ottoman Power.

A rude people, a bigoted people, in its beginning a band of adventurers rather than a nation, rose to power under a line of princes who were endowed with unparalleled gifts for winning and keeping dominion, but who had but a small share in those qualities which make dominion something other than a mere rule of force. The Ottomans have been simply a power. They have been a power whose one work has been the subjugation of other nations, Mahometan as well as Christian, a power whose sole errand has been that of conquest, and which, therefore, as soon as it ceased to conquer, sank into a depth of wickedness and weakness beyond all other powers.

The Ottoman Turk, a conqueror and nothing more, has had no share in the nobler qualities which have distinguished many other Mahometan nations which have been conquerors and something else as well. He has no claim to be placed side by side with the higher specimens of his own creed, with the early Saracens or with the Indian Moguls. It would be a blessed change indeed if the lands of South-eastern Europe

could be transferred from the rule of the corrupt gang at Constantinople to a rule just, if stern, like that of the first Caliphs. But, even under the rule of the first Caliphs, they would still be in a case which would cause any Western people to spring to arms. No Mahometan ruler, I repeat, can give more than contemptuous toleration; he cannot give real equality of rights. One Mahometan ruler tried to do so, and not only tried, but succeeded. But he succeeded only by casting away the faith which hindered his work. Akbar was the one prince born in Islam who gave equal rights to his subjects who did not profess the faith of Islam. But he was also the one prince born in Islam who cast away the faith of Islam. To do his work, the noblest work that despot ever did, he had to cast aside the trammels of a creed under which his work could never have been done. No fact proves more clearly that under Mahometan rule there can be no real reform than the fact that the one Mahometan prince who wrought a real reform had to cease to be Mahometan in order to work it.

Mohammedanism and Culture.

So again with regard to another point. It may be asked, Is the Mahometan religion necessarily inconsistent with proficiency in literature, art, and science? Here, too, a different answer may be given according to the different standard which is taken. The East has its own literature, art, and science, apart from those of the West: the East has its own civilization apart from that of the West. We may deem that the East is inferior to the West in all these things, and history proves that it is so. But the real point is, not that one is inferior or superior to the other, but that they are essentially distinct. The Turk has never won for himself any share in the common intellectual possessions of the West. Even in the East, no one would place him in these respects on a level

with either the Arab or the Persian, but wholly with regard to his share in the intellectual possessions of the West. In those possessions we may say that no Mahometan nation has ever had a full share, and that the Ottoman Turk has had no share at all. The Saracen, both of the East and of the West, has his distinct place in the history of art and science; the Ottoman Turk has none.

Aggravation of Evils.

We have gone off somewhat from the main track of our argument to mark how far the special evils of Ottoman rule are shared by Mahometan governments in general, and how far they are directly owing to the Mahometan religion. The answer is that they are directly owing to the Mahometan religion, that they must in some measure affect every Mahometan government, but that the special character and position of the Ottoman Turks has aggravated the worst tendencies of the Mahometan religion, and has made their rule worse than that of any of the other great Mahometan powers of the world.

Let us once more compare the Bulgarian and the Ottoman Turk. The Bulgarians came in as heathen invaders. They embraced Christianity, and were lost among their Christian neighbors and subjects. Their government then became a national government. The Turks came in, not as heathen, but as Mahometan invaders. They have not embraced Christianity. They have always remained distinct from their Christian neighbors and subjects. Their government has never become a national government to any but the invading race themselves. It is a string of causes and effects.

The rule of the Bulgarian could become a national government, because he embraced Christianity, and he was able to embrace Christianity because he came in as a heathen.

The rule of the Ottoman Turk has never become a national government, because the Turk has never embraced Christianity, he could not embrace Christianity because he came in as a Mahometan.

It is a fact well worthy of remembrance that both the Bulgarians, and somewhat later the Russians, when they became dissatisfied with their own heathen religion, had Mahometanism and Christianity both set before them, and that they deliberately chose Christianity. Had either of those nations chosen otherwise, the history of Europe would have been very different from what it has been. The rule of the Bulgarian would have been what the rule of the Turk has been.

History might have been Different.

The state of things which began in the South-eastern lands in the fourteenth century would have begun in the ninth. We need not stop to show how different the whole history of the world would have been, if the heathen Russians, instead of adopting Christianity, had adopted Mahometanism. As it was, both nations made a better choice, and the history of the Bulgarian, as compared with that of the Ottoman Turk, has given us the most instructive of lessons. The heathen conquerors could be turned into Christian brethren; the Mahometan conquerors could not. And, remaining Mahometans, they could not give a national government to those of the conquered who remained Christians.

Now among those who so remained were the bulk of the conquered nations, the nations themselves as nations. Many individuals everywhere, in some lands large classes, embraced, as was not very wonderful, the religion of the conquerors, and so rose to the level of the conquerors. But the vast majority clung steadfastly to the faith whose continued profession condemned them to be bondmen in their own land.

Thus the distinction of religion marked off the two classes of conquered and conquerors, subjects and rulers, the people of the land and the strangers who held them in subjection.

Had it been merely the distinction of conqueror and conquered, that might have died out as it has died out in so many lands. The Turk might by this time have been as thoroughly assimilated as the Bulgarian. But the distinction of religion kept on forever the distinction between conquerors and conquered. The process of conquest, the state of things directly following on conquest, still goes on after five hundred years.

Thus the rule of the Mahometan Turk is not, and cannot be, a national government to any of his Christian subjects. This must be thoroughly understood, because so many phrases which we are in the habit of using are apt to lead to error on this point. Many words which have one meaning when we apply them to the state of things in Western Europe, have another meaning or no meaning at all when we apply them to the state of things in South-eastern Europe. If in speaking of things in South-eastern Europe we use such words as "sovereign," "subject," "government," "law," we must remember that we are using them with quite another meaning than they bear when applied to the same things in Western Europe.

Thus in common language we speak of the power which is now established at Constantinople as the Turkish "government" or the Ottoman "government." We speak of the Sultan as the "sovereign" of Bulgaria, Bosnia, Thessaly, or Crete. We speak of the Christian inhabitants of those countries as the Sultan's "subjects." His subjects they undoubtedly are in one sense; but it is in a sense quite different from that which the word bears in any Western kingdom.

The word "subject" has two quite different meanings when

we speak of a Turkish subject and when we speak of a British subject. When we call an Englishman a British subject, we mean that he is a member of the British state, and we call him subject rather than citizen simply because the head of the British state is a king or queen and not a republican magistrate. Every British subject is the member of a body of which the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland is the head.

But if we call a Bulgarian an Ottoman subject, it does not mean that he is the member of a body of which the Ottoman Sultan is the head. It means that he is the member of a body which is held in bondage by the body of which the Ottoman Sultan is the head. It does not simply mean that he is a subject of the Grand Turk as a political ruler. It means that he is also subject to all the lesser Turks as his daily oppressors.

Peculiar form of Government.

If we speak of "government," the "Turkish government," and the like, the words are apt to suggest, often unconsciously, that they have the same meaning when they are applied to Eastern Europe as they have when applied to Western Europe. What is understood by "government" in Western Europe is the administration of the law. The government is the body which protects those who obey the law, and which punishes those who break it. And in all the countries of Western Europe, whether they are called kingdoms or commonwealths, the nation itself has some share, more or less perfect, more or less direct, in appointing and controlling both those who make the law and those who administer it. When this is the case, it matters nothing for our purpose whether the state is called a kingdom or a commonwealth, whether the mass of the nation are spoken of as "subjects" or as "citizens."

For our purpose, for the comparison between Eastern and Western Europe, "subject" and "citizen" mean the same thing. We speak of a British "subject" and we speak of a French "citizen;" but the use of the two different words simply marks the difference of the form of the executive in the two countries. "Subject" and "citizen" alike mean a man who is a member of a political community, and who has, or may by his own act acquire, a share in the choice of those who make and who administer the law.

The duties of the sovereign and of the subject are correlative. The subject owes allegiance to the sovereign who gives him protection; the sovereign owes protection to the subject who lives under his allegiance. All this applies in its fulness to all constitutional states, whether they are called kingdoms or commonwealths.

It applies in a less degree even to despotic states, so far as the despotic sovereign is really the head of the nation and has interests and feelings in common with the nation. But in Southeastern Europe, under the rule of the Turk, there is nothing which answers to the state of things which we have just been describing.

CHAPTER XXXV.

History of Turkey and the Mohammedan Power.

THE vast empire of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China, ended with his life, in 1296. Among the many chiefs who rose to power upon its ruins was Orthogrul, a Turkish leader. His son Othman completed the work begun by his father, and, having conquered a portion of Nicomedia, established his capital at Prusa, and laid the foundations of the empire of the Ottoman Turks, who take their name from him. His son Orchan, taking advantage of the struggle between the elder and younger Andronicus, conquered Bithynia and advanced his dominions to the Hellespont.

When the Emperor Cantacuzene embarked in his struggle for the throne, he asked the assistance of the Turks, and even gave his daughter in marriage to Orchan. Solyman, the son of Orchan, was sent over to Europe at the head of 10,000 horse to aid Cantacuzene in his last quarrel with John Palæologus, and the Turks were thus given a foothold in Europe which they never relinquished. The Chersonesus was quietly but rapidly filled with a Turkish colony, and the fortresses of Thrace passed into the hands of the Turks, who refused to surrender them to the Byzantine court, A. D. 1353.

Amurath I., the son of Orchan and brother of Solyman, came to the throne in 1360. He conquered all of Thrace and made Adrianople the capital of his kingdom. His dominions extended to within a short distance of Constantinople. He

might have captured the capital of the Greek empire, but he deemed it best to delay this conquest for a while. He turned his arms against the Bulgarians, the Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, the Slavonian nations inhabiting the region between the Danube and the Adriatic, and subdued them. From the multitude of his Christian captives Amurath selected the strongest and most beautiful youths, and had them trained for his service.

A Race of Warriors.

They became known as janizaries, and being reared from early childhood in the Mohammedan religion and treated with great favor by the Sultan, they became his most devoted subjects. They also constituted the flower of the Turkish army, and were regarded as the most formidable troops in the world. Amurath was mortally wounded in battle in 1389. He was succeeded by his son, Bajazet I., called "Ilderim," or "Lightning." He secured uninterrupted communication between his dominions in Europe and Asia by stationing a fleet of galleys at Gallipoli. With these he was able to command the Hellespont and intercept the expeditions sent from western Europe to the relief of Constantinople. The predecessors of Bajazet had been content with the title of emir, but he assumed that of sultan. He filled Europe with terror, and made a strenuous effort to conquer Hungary.

All western Europe sent assistance to Hungary, whose cause was that of Christendom, but Bajazet inflicted a severe defeat at Nicopolis, in 1396, upon a confederated army of 100,000 Christians led by Siegmund, King of Hungary. Bajazet invariably treated the Greek emperors as his vassals. He enclosed their empire, which consisted of but little more than Constantinople and its suburbs, on all sides with his extensive dominions, and the capture of the city was simply a

question of time. He took advantage of the death of John Palæologus and the accession of Manuel to claim the city as his own, and his demand being refused, besieged Constantinople. The city would speedily have fallen into his hands had he not been suddenly summoned to Asia to meet the advance of a new and formidable enemy, and Constantinople was spared for a while longer.

The Celebrated Tamerlane.

This new enemy was a Turkish chieftain named Timour, or Tamerlane. His ancestors had done service to the Mogul Khans, and at an early age he had risen to a high rank in the service of their successors. At the age of thirty-four (A. D. 1370) he became Emir of Zagatai and the East, but this did not content him. He coveted the sovereignty of the world, and by the force of his genius became in the next thirty years the ruler of the greater part of the Mogul empire. Between 1370 and 1400 he conquered and annexed to his dominions Persia, Georgia, Tartary and India. At the close of the century, although sixty-three years old, he descended from the Georgian hills and marched to conquer Syria and Egypt. It was the news of his approach that summoned Sultan Bajazet from the siege of Constantinople to take the field against the most formidable adversary the Ottoman Turks had yet encountered.

The effort of Bajazet I. to check the victorious march of Timour proved in vain. The latter took Aleppo and Damascus in Syria and reduced them to ashes. He turned aside from the invasion of Palestine and overran the provinces of Armenia and Anatolia. Bajazet endeavored to compel him to raise the siege of Angora in the latter country, but was defeated in a great battle near that city, and made a prisoner, July 28, 1402.

Timour was now master of all the vast region from the Irtish and the Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago. Only the lack of vessels prevented him from carrying his conquests beyond the Hellespont. He ruled this immense empire with firmness and ability, and "might boast that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the east to the west." Such was his confidence of merit that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories and a title to universal dominion.

Ghastly Trophies.

But the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease; and whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns or pyramids of human heads. Timour died in 1405, while preparing for the conquest of China, and his empire was soon broken up among his descendants.

The capture of Sultan Bajazet was followed in the Turkish dominions by a fierce civil war among his five sons, which lasted from 1403 to 1413. At the end of this time order was restored by Mohammed I., who was recognized as universal sultan. The eight years of his reign were peaceful, and were spent in consolidating his power in his dominions and in re-establishing the reign of law which had been overthrown by the civil war. His son, Amurath II., succeeded him in 1421. The next year Amurath renewed the attack upon Constantinople, but after a siege of two months abandoned the attempt. He was a man of singular moderation and justice for one of his race, and preferred the repose of private life to the cares of empire. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired

to Magnesia. The invasion of the Hungarians drew him from his retirement, and his son relinquished the crown to him.

The Christians were finally routed in the great battle of Varna (1444), and Amurath again resigned the crown to his son, Mohammed II. A few years later a formidable rebellion of the janizaries obliged the sultan once more to resume the government, as his son was too young and inexperienced to control the army. He remained on the throne until his death, in 1451.

Mohammed II. was twenty-one years old at the death of his father. He had been educated with the utmost care, and is said to have spoken in addition to his native tongue the Arabic, Persian, Hebrew,

Greek and Latin languages. Yet in spite of this training he was a cruel, brutal and lustful tyrant. From the opening of his reign he was resolved upon the capture of Constantinople. In 1452 he began to fortify the Bosphorus to prevent the passage of European fleets to the assistance of the Greek capital, and in the spring of 1453 advanced to Constantinople,



SELIM I.

invested the city and captured it after a siege of fifty-three days.

Mohammed's Victories.

The Greek emperor defended his capital gallantly, but the Turkish force was overwhelming. Constantinople was made the capital of the Turkish empire, but the Greeks were treated with fairness by the conqueror, and were encouraged to remain in the city. Mohammed now sought to follow up his victory by the conquest of Hungary. He advanced to Belgrade and laid siege to that important fortress, but was defeated and driven back by the Regent John Huniades in 1456. These efforts were repeated during the remainder of Mohammed's reign, but without success. The sultan now turned his arms against the remaining Greek states. The Morea was conquered and annexed in 1460, and the next year Trebizond surrendered to him.

In 1481 a Turkish force was dispatched across the Adriatic, and Otranto on the Italian coast was stormed and sacked. Having secured this important footing in Italy, Mohammed prepared to follow it up by the conquest of the entire peninsula, but amid the general alarm which his movements occasioned throughout Europe, he died. He was succeeded by his son, Bajazet II. He was not a conqueror like his father, and under him the Mohammedan dominion fell off instead of advancing.

The reign of Bajazet II. witnessed a decline of the Turkish power. In 1501 their empire was weakened by the establishment of the modern kingdom of Persia under Shah Ismail, the founder of the dynasty of the Sophis. The cause of this division was the adoption by the people of Persia of the doctrines of the Shia sect of Mohammedans. In 1512 Bajazet's reign was cut short by his enforced abdication in favor of his son, Selim I., one of the greatest as well as one of the cruellest of the sultans.

He made frequent wars upon the new kingdom of Persia, and made himself master of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. He next conquered Syria and Egypt and annexed them to the Ottoman empire. He compelled the last of the Abbasside Khalifs to surrender to them the sacred title, which the Ottoman sultans have since borne. He died in 1520, and was succeeded by his son, Solyman I., who proved himself a much abler sovereign than his father. He was the greatest of the sultans.

Important Captures.

In the first year of his reign Solyman, who was determined to add Hungary and Western Europe to his empire, invaded the former country, and captured Belgrade and a number of important fortresses. He succeeded in conquering and annexing to his dominions, the southern part of the kingdom and the Temesvar and Banat. In 1521 he captured the Island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, who had held it since the Crusades. The knights retired from Rhodes to the island of Malta, which was bestowed upon them by the Emperor Charles V. They fortified its principal port, and in 1565 successfully resisted a determined effort of Solyman to capture their stronghold.

In 1535 Solyman's admiral, Khairaddin, called Barbarossa, captured Tunis for him, but it was retaken by the Emperor Charles V., who inflicted a severe punishment upon the Turks in Africa, and restored Tunis to its rightful sovereign. In spite of this defeat, however, the fleet of Barbarossa swept the Mediterranean, and ravaged the coasts of Spain, Italy and France at pleasure. Thousands of captives were torn from their homes and sent to slavery in Africa. In spite of these outrages, Francis I., of France, in order to defeat the schemes of the Emperor Charles, made an alliance with the Turks.

During this period Solyman conquered the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and sent a squadron into the Red Sea to oppose the Portuguese in India. The Venetians lost heavily by these conquests in the Archipelago, where they had extensive possessions. In 1542-3 the Turkish fleet in alliance with the French ravaged the southern coast of Italy. Reggio was burned, numerous captives were taken, and Rome was threatened. The Turkish fleet then sailed for Marseilles, where Barbarossa found a ready market for the captives he had taken on the Calabrian coast. Toulon was assigned to the Turks for their winter quarters. An unsuccessful attempt was made upon Nice by the combined French and Turkish fleets during the same year.

A few years later the Turks quarreled with their Christian allies, and seized a number of French nobles, whom they held for ransom. During the whole of the century the Turkish corsairs kept the coasts of Europe in danger, and during the life of Solyman the European states were never free from the dread of a general invasion of the infidels. In 1566 Solyman died.

A Profligate Prince

Selim II. succeeded his father. He began his reign by making a truce for twelve years with the Emperor Maximilian II. He was a weak and profligate prince, and secured the allegiance of the janizaries by distributing large sums of money among them. He then made war without success against Persia. In 1570 he sent a fleet and an army of 50,000 men to conquer Cyprus, which for nearly a century had been a dependency of the Venetian republic. The next year saw him in possession of the entire island. Pope Pius V. now organized a holy league, consisting of himself, the King of Spain, and the republic of Venice, for the expulsion of the Turks from the Mediterranean. A fleet of 300 vessels, com-

manded by Don John, of Austria, half-brother of Philip of Spain, was assembled, and dispatched against the Mohammedans.

Great Naval Successes.

The Turkish fleet, superior in strength to that of the Christians, was discovered in the harbor of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus. Don John at once attacked it, and gained over it one of the most memorable naval victories on record. The Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men, and their supremacy in the Mediterranean was utterly destroyed. They never recovered from this blow, and from this battle ceased to be a terror to Europe. Their empire steadily declined from this time. If the Christians had followed up their victory with vigor, they might have wrested Greece from the Porte. They were divided by quarrels, however, and the next year the Turks were able to put another fleet afloat. The Venetians now made a separate peace with the Sultan, and surrendered all their claims to Cyprus. In 1572 Selim died.

The immediate successors of Selim were sunk in pleasure, and made no efforts to extend their dominions. In 1594 Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania revolted from Amurath III., and made an alliance with the emperor. Amurath in great alarm sent to Damascus for the holy standard, which he supposed would bring him victory. He died in 1595, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed III., who secured his succession by murdering his nineteen brothers. During this year the Austrian army under Count Mansfeld defeated the Turks in a series of battles. In 1596 Mohammed took the field in person, and in a three days' battle at Keresztes inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Christians, who lost 50,000 men and 100 pieces of cannon. The war lasted until January, 1607, but the Turks neglected to reap the advantages of their great victory, and gained nothing of permanent value by the struggle.



VARNA.

The peace of Sitvatorok in 1607, which closed the war between the Turks and the empire, showed a great abatement in the pretensions of the Turks, whose power now began to decline. In 1618 Mohammed III. was succeeded by his son, Othman II., who attempted the conquest of Poland. His disastrous failure so enraged the janizaries that they murdered him at the close of the war, A.D. 1622. He was only eighteen years old at the time of his death. His uncle, Mustapha, an imbecile, was taken from a dungeon and seated on the throne, but was removed within a year to make way for Amurath IV., the younger brother of Othman.

The Turks Defeated in Hungary.

In 1645 the Sultan attempted the conquest of Crete, which had been held up to this time by the Venetians; the war for the possession of this island terminated in 1669 in its conquest by the Turks, who held undisputed possession of it for nearly two hundred years.

In 1649 Mohammed IV. came to the throne. In 1663 a new war was begun with Austria. It was closed by the treaty of Vasvar, in August, 1664. The Turks were allowed to retain all their conquests in Hungary, and were paid the sum of 200,000 florins by the emperor. In 1683, the truce of Vasvar having nearly expired, Mohammed sent an army under Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier, to the assistance of the revolted Hungarians. Vienna was besieged, but was relieved by the armies of King John Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine. The Turks were defeated and driven out of Austria and Hungary.

The Duke of Lorraine continued the war with great energy, and in three years regained all Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia for the empire. The long line of defeats which befell the Turkish arms produced a revolt in Constantinople

in 1687. The Sultan was thrown into prison, and was succeeded by his brother, Solyman II. This prince was succeeded in 1696 by Mustapha II. The war with Austria and Poland went on with varying success until 1699. In 1684 the Venetians had joined the emperor against the Turks, and had conquered the whole of Peloponnesus.

Destruction of the Parthenon.

In this war the beautiful temple of the Parthenon, at Athens, which had been converted by the Christian emperors into a church, and by the Turks into a powder-magazine, was blown to atoms by the explosion of the powder stored in it. In 1699 the war was concluded by the peace of Carlowitz. By this treaty Turkey ceded to Austria nearly all the territory she had held in Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, and part of Croatia. Venice received the Peloponnesus, several fortresses in Dalmatia, and the islands of St. Maura and Ægina. Poland obtained the Ukraine, Podolia, and Kameniek.

After the treaty of Carlowitz the Sultan hesitated for three years before coming to an agreement with Russia, as he was by no means anxious to admit that power to a footing on the Black Sea. The capture of Azov by the Russians made it impossible for him to prevent their presence on the Black Sea, and in July, 1702, he reluctantly submitted to the inevitable, and ceded Azov and a strip of eighty miles of coast to Russia. Peter the Great set to work at once to strengthen Azov, and made it one of the strongest fortresses in Europe.

The power of Turkey steadily declined during this century. The cessation of the tribute of Christian children, by which the janizaries had been recruited, deprived the Sultan of his best and most devoted servants. The Turkish armies no longer enjoyed the guidance of great leaders and competent officers. The subject nations began to grow stronger as Tur-

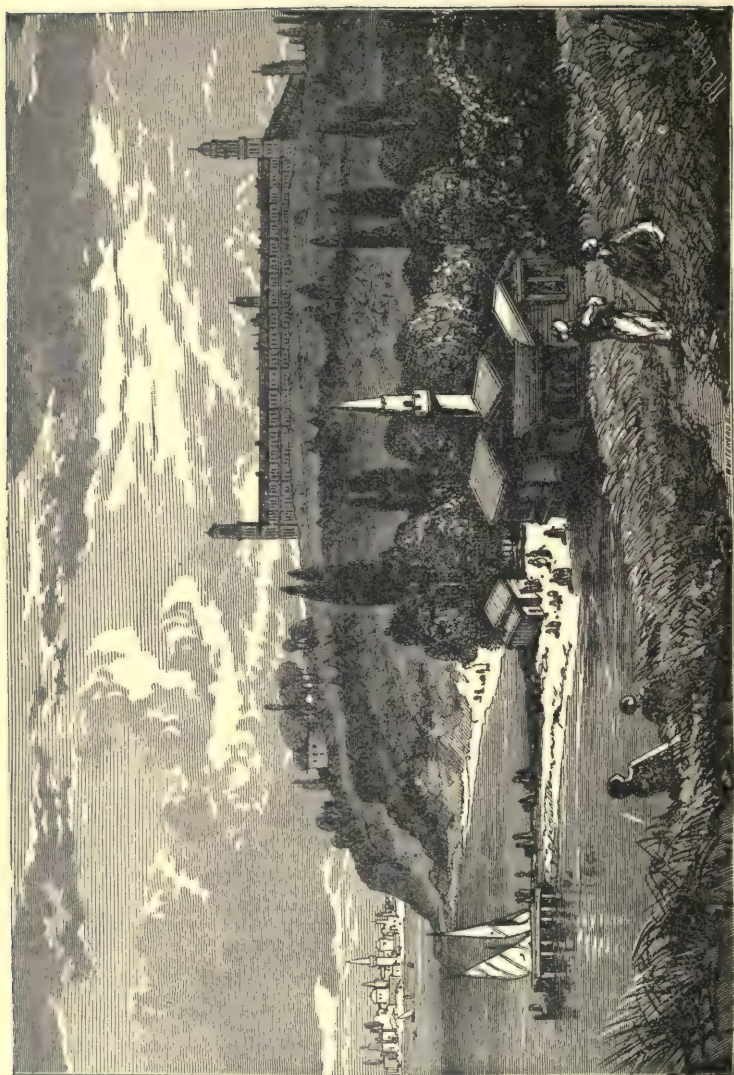
key grew weaker, and it was plain to all thoughtful observers that they would not remain in subjection much longer.

The desire of Russia to obtain the northern shore of the Black Sea, and ultimately to wrest their European territory from the Turks, made frequent wars a necessity for Turkey, which from this time was compelled to maintain her existence by the sword. When Charles XII. was in Turkey, Peter the Great suddenly invaded the Turkish territory, as we have related in the Russian history, and came near being ruined. He was glad to make a treaty by which he surrendered Azov, in order to be able to withdraw into his own dominions without further loss, A. D. 1711.

Immediately after the peace of Utrecht, the Sultan, Achmet III., declared war in 1715 against the Venetians, and overran the Morea. The Emperor, Charles VI., in order to enforce the terms of the peace of Carlowitz, declared war against the Turks. His commander, Prince Eugene, routed the Turkish army at Peterwardin, and laid siege to Belgrade. A Turkish army approaching to the relief of that fortress was defeated by Eugene, and Belgrade was forced to surrender, A. D. 1717. The war was closed by the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718. The Turks surrendered Belgrade and the Bannat of Temisvar to the emperor, but retained the Morea.

A new war broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1736, and continued until 1739, Austria taking part in it as the ally of Russia after 1737. At the close of the war Belgrade, Sebatsch and Austrian Servia were ceded to Turkey, but Russia, who had regained Azov, held on to that place. By this treaty—known as the peace of Belgrade—Russia agreed not to keep any fleet in the Black Sea. At the outset of the war Mahmoud I., who succeeded to the Turkish throne in 1730, died, and Mustapha III. became sultan in A. D. 1737.

In 1769, during the reign of Mustapha III. of Turkey and



VIEW OF SCUTARI.

Catharine II. of Russia, the affairs of Poland involved Turkey in a war with Russia. The war began in the spring of 1769, and the Russian forces were defeated and driven beyond the Dneister. In 1770 a Russian fleet sailed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and entered the Archipelago. The Turkish fleet was defeated at Epidaurus, and again at Scio, and was burned in the harbor of Smyrna. The Greeks of the Morea rose at the call of Russia, which power intended establishing an independent Greek kingdom as an offset to Turkey, but as soon as the Russian forces were withdrawn, a Turkish army of 30,000 men entered the Morea, defeated the Greeks in the battle of Modon, and punished their defection with fearful cruelties.

Widespread Insurrection.

In the meantime the Turks had recovered Moldavia and Wallachia, but Prince Romanzoff took command of the Russian forces in 1770, defeated the Turkish army in a great battle near the mouth of the Pruth, and reconquered Wallachia and Moldavia. To add to the troubles of Turkey, Egypt and Syria rose in insurrection against her. The war went on with varying success, but to the general disadvantage of Turkey, until July, 1774, when the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji brought it to a close.

The terms of this treaty have been stated in the Russian history of this period. Mustapha III. died in 1774, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Abdul Ahmed. He reigned until 1789, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Selim III., the son of Mustapha, whose reign lasted through the century.

In 1787 a new war broke out between Turkey and Russia. Its events are related in our account of Russia, to which the reader is referred. Turkey was defeated almost invariably in

this war; her fleets were destroyed and her fortresses taken. The war was closed by the peace of Jassy, in January, 1792. Russia had already become mistress of the Crimea, and by this treaty the Dneister was made the boundary between the two empires.

The territory thus won by Russia was lost to Turkey forever. The remainder of the century was productive of no event of importance in Turkish history, apart from the invasion of Egypt and Syria by the French under Napoleon Bonaparte, which we have already related.

Resistance to Turkish Power.

The Turkish power was at a very low ebb at the opening of the nineteenth century, and many of the subject nations, both Christian and Mohammedan, sought to throw off the yoke of the Sultan and establish their independence. In 1806 Servia revolted under the leadership of Czerni George. It was conquered in 1813, but again revolted in 1815, under Milosh Obrenowitz.

Montenegro also rebelled, and until the Crimean war these provinces enjoyed a state of quasi independence. Egypt was also strongly disaffected. In 1809 a war broke out with Russia, which resulted in a further loss of Turkish territory. It was closed by the treaty of Bucharest, by which the Sultan ceded to Russia Bessarabia, Ismail and Kilia, one-third of Moldavia, and the fortresses of Chotzim and Bender.

In 1807 Selim III. died, and was succeeded by Mahmoud II., under whom the Turkish power continued to decline. The population of the Turkish empire in Europe was about 14,000,000, of whom scarcely 2,000,000 were Turks. The remainder were Christians, consisting principally of the four distinct races inhabiting European Turkey, viz.: the Slavonians, occupying Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and

Montenegro; the Roumanians, occupying Moldavia and Wallachia; the Albanians, dwelling in ancient Epirus, and the Greeks.

The Greeks had never willingly accepted the rule of Turkey, and some portions of them had never submitted to the Porte, but had maintained a wild, brigandish existence in their mountains. Though the Greeks were attached to Russia by the strong ties of a common religion, that power refused to do anything for their freedom, and Alexander I. met their appeal for aid against their Turkish oppressors with the cold command: "Let the Greek rebels obey their lawful sovereign."

Uprising of the Greeks.

In spite of this discouragement the Greeks determined to throw off the Turkish yoke, and in March, 1821, the first blow was struck. The people of the peninsula and the islands rose in a general revolt. When the news of the revolution was received at Constantinople a general massacre of the Greek inhabitants of the capital ensued. The war went on through the year 1821, the patriot forces winning several important successes, among which was the capture of the Turkish capital of the Morea. In January, 1822, a national congress met at Epidaurus, proclaimed the independence of Greece, and adopted a provisional constitution. Alexander Mavrocordatos was chosen president. In the spring of the same year the Turks made a descent upon Scio massacred 40,000 of the inhabitants, and carried away thousands to the slave markets of Smyrna and Constantinople.

In 1823 the admiration and sympathy of all Europe were aroused by the heroic death of Marco Bozzaris, who, with a small band of Suliote patriots, attacked the Turkish camp and fell in the arms of victory. The European governments looked coldly upon the gallant struggle, but the people

remembered the glories of ancient Greece, and supplies of money, arms and men were sent to the patriots. Foremost among those who devoted their fortunes and talents to the freedom of Greece was Lord Byron. He died at Missolonghi in April, 1824, before he could accomplish much for the cause he had adopted.

Unable to conquer Greece, the sultan summoned Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, who enjoyed a state of actual independence, to complete the task. This vigorous leader spread terror and desolation throughout Hellas. Missolonghi was taken after a heroic defence, and Athens was captured in 1825. The Egyptian forces had orders to make a desolation of Greece, and to carry off the people into slavery.

Destruction of the Mohammedan Fleet.

Alexander I., of Russia, fortunately died at this juncture and the Czar Nicholas, his successor, adopted a different policy. Moved either by his sympathy with his co-religionists or by his anxiety to weaken Turkey, he resolved to intervene in behalf of the Greeks, and was joined by France and England, who were anxious to impose a check upon the Egyptian viceroy. These powers sent a strong combined fleet to the Mediterranean. On the 20th of October, 1827, this fleet, under the command of the English Admiral Codrington, accidentally encountered the Turkish and Egyptian fleet in the Bay of Navarino. A battle ensued, which resulted in the destruction of the Mohammedan fleet.

This success revived the hopes of the Greeks, and the next year Russia declared war against Turkey; and the sultan, in order to save his Danubian provinces, was obliged to sign the treaty of Adrianople, by which he acknowledged the independence of Greece.

Mehemet Ali was given the sovereignty of Crete by the

sultan for his services in the Greek revolution. Not satisfied with this acquisition, he sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, an able commander, in 1831, to conquer Syria. That country was overrun by the Egyptian forces, who also advanced towards Asia Minor. Their progress was at length stayed by the intervention of Russia, England and France, whose forces defeated Ibrahim at Nisibis on the Euphrates. A few days after this battle Sultan Mahmoud died. France was anxious that Mehemet Ali should succeed him, but England and Russia drove him out of Acre and Syria, and secured the Turkish throne for Abdul Medjid, the young son of Mahmoud.

The Treaty of London.

In 1840 the treaty of London was signed. Crete and Syria were restored to the Porte, and Mehemet Ali was limited to Egypt. For many years after this Sir Stratford Canning, afterward Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, controlled the counsels of the Porte. By the treaty of London, Egypt became, to a certain extent, an independent state, though owning a nominal allegiance to the sultan.

In 1851 began the troubles which resulted in the Crimean war, which we have related elsewhere. The treaty of Paris, in 1856, which brought this war to a close, admitted Turkey to the European system of states, and guaranteed the integrity of her dominions. Servia was given a native prince, and was placed under the protection of the great powers, though she retained a nominal allegiance to the sultan. Moldavia and Wallachia, a few years later, were erected into a similarly independent state under the name of Roumania.

In 1861 Abdul Medjid died, and was succeeded by Abdul Aziz. In 1868 a formidable insurrection broke out in the island of Crete or Candia. It aroused great sympathy among

the European people, and came near producing a war between Greece and Turkey, but was quelled during the following year by the Turks.

Mehemet Ali was succeeded as Viceroy of Egypt by his son Ibrahim Pasha, under whose vigorous rule Egypt made great progress. He died in 1848, and Abbas Pasha became viceroy, and was, in his turn, succeeded by Ismail Pasha, the reigning khedive.

In 1867 the Sultan Abdul Aziz visited Paris and London and the principal cities of Europe. This was the first time a Turkish sovereign ever made a peaceful journey beyond the limits of his own empire.

Russia Gains an Advantage.

The result of the war between France and Germany, in 1870-71, affected Turkey in a most important respect. The treaty of Paris, which closed the Crimean war, placed a restriction upon the aggressive power of Russia by neutralizing the Black Sea. The reverses of France in her contest with Germany so weakened her that she was unable to sustain England in upholding the treaty of Paris. Russia promptly took advantage of this to demand of the Powers a modification of those articles of the treaty which prevented her from fortifying her ports or maintaining an armed fleet in the Black Sea.

England warmly opposed the demand, but France was in no condition to do so, and Germany and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy gave their moral support to the Russian demand, and avowed their intention not to co-operate with England in any armed resistance to it. The result was that a conference of the representatives of the Powers was held in London and on the 13th of February, 1871, a treaty was signed by them abrogating the articles of the treaty of Paris as to

the navigation of the Black Sea and the right of Russia to fortify her ports. The protection afforded to Turkey by the great Powers was thus taken from her.

In 1873 the Sultan's authority over Egypt was further weakened by the concessions which made the Khedive almost an independent sovereign, and which we have related in the history of Egypt.

Turkish Misrule and Oppression.

In the summer of 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina. The misrule and oppression of the Turkish government had come to be insupportable, and the inhabitants rose in rebellion and repulsed the attacks of the Turkish troops. Servia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria were profoundly excited by these events, and were open in their sympathy with their struggling Christian brethren in Herzegovina. Substantial aid was also rendered by the people of those countries, the governments of which for a time remained neutral.

In October, 1875, Turkey failed to meet the interest on her national debt, the principal of which amounted to over \$900,000,000. A decree was issued by the Porte promising speedy payment of half the interest and making provision for the payment of the other half. The promise was not fulfilled, and in July, 1876, the Porte was compelled to declare its insolvency by stating that all payments on account of the national debt must cease until the close of the war with its revolted provinces. As nearly every dollar of this debt was due to citizens of western Europe, principally English subjects, the failure of the Turks to meet their obligations greatly weakened the friendship which, up to this time, the English people had felt for them.

On the 30th of May, 1876, the Sultan Abdul Aziz, to whose

mismanagement many of the troubles of the country were due, was forcibly deposed, and placed in confinement in one of the palaces at Constantinople. On the 4th of June he was found dead in his chamber, having committed suicide.



ABDUL AZIZ.

Murad (or Amurath) V., the son of Abdul Medjid, was proclaimed Sultan in the place of his uncle. His reign was a brief one. He proved so hopelessly imbecile that, on the 31st of August, 1876, he was in his turn deposed, and was succeeded by his brother, Abdul Hamid II.

In the meantime the war with Herzegovina had been carried on. In October, 1875, the Sultan declared that the taxes which had been one cause of the revolt, should be lowered from their excessive rate to ten per cent., that arrears of

taxes should be abandoned, and that the Christians should be granted a representation in the state councils. The Christians had learned from long experience to distrust these promises, and the war went on. In October, 1875, some Christians who had come back to their homes from Dalmatia were massacred by the Turks, and the struggle became more bitter in consequence of this act. Serbia and Montenegro secretly gave aid to the rebels, and the Prince of Serbia declared in a speech to the national assembly that it was

impossible for Servia to be indifferent to the fate of the Herzegovines.

It was feared by the European powers that the troubles in Turkey might be the means of embroiling other countries in the war, and near the close of the year 1875, Germany, Austria, and Russia made a combined effort to secure peace. Austria, whose territory adjoined the Turkish dominions, was especially fearful that the revolt would extend across her border and involve her Slavonic possessions. A joint note was drawn up in the name of the three powers by Count Andrassy, the Austrian prime minister.

System of Reforms.

This note proposed to the Sultan to grant certain reforms to his Christian subjects. These were the establishment of complete religious liberty ; the abolition of the system of farming out the taxes; the application of the revenue arising from indirect taxation in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the general purposes of the Ottoman government, and the employment of the results of the direct taxation in the improvement and government of those provinces. The Porte accepted all the reforms but the disposition of the taxes, at the same time promising to set aside a certain sum from the national treasury for the local wants of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The insurgents were not willing to trust the pledges of the Porte, however, and the war went on. On the 30th of March, 1876, an armistice was concluded, and an effort was made by an agent of the Austrian Government to effect a settlement. The terms demanded by the insurgents were so extravagant, however, that Austria refused to consider them.

The Andrassy note having failed, a note was drawn up at Berlin on the 11th of May, 1876, by the prime ministers of Germany, Austria and Russia, and forwarded to Constanti-

nople. It stated peremptorily that as the Sultan had given the powers a pledge to execute the reforms proposed by them, he had also given them a moral right to insist that he should fulfill his promise.

The note then demanded an armistice of two months, and closed with a threat that if the Sultan failed to comply with the demands of the Powers, they might find it necessary to compel him to do so. The note substantially supported the demands of the Christians of Herzegovina with respect to taxation and the restoration of their property, etc. France and Italy agreed to support the note, but England declined to do so.

Massacred in Cold Blood.

The war had gone on in the meantime, and Bulgaria had become to some extent involved in it. Early in May the Turkish officials in Bulgaria determined to put a stop to the troubles in that province by the wholesale extermination of the Bulgarian Christians. A systematic plan was arranged for this purpose, and at the appointed time the Christians were attacked in their villages by the Turks. Many hundreds were massacred in cold blood, including people of all ages and both sexes; women were outraged, property carried off or destroyed, and villages burned.

The news of the massacre sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout Europe, and the Turks were denounced in unmeasured terms. In England, which country had until now given its moral support to Turkey, the outburst of indignation was intense, and the popular feeling was so outspoken that the government was compelled to pause in its support of the Sultan and act more in sympathy with the other European powers.

An immediate result of the massacres was the active participation of Servia in the war. In July, 1876, both Servia and

Montenegro declared war against Turkey. The Servian army attempted to invade Bulgaria, but was so unsuccessful in its efforts that on the 24th of August Prince Milan accepted the offer of England to mediate between him and the Sultan.

Montenegro had been generally successful in her efforts, but, in view of the action of Servia, consented to treat for peace. On the 1st of September England proposed an armistice of a month between the belligerents.

The Sultan's Demands.

The Sultan refused to grant this, but declared himself willing to make peace on condition that Prince Milan should come to Constantinople and do homage to him, that Turkish garrisons should be placed in four of the Servian fortresses, that Servia should pay an indemnity, and that the Porte should be allowed to construct and work a railroad through Servian territory. The powers refused to allow these terms to be discussed. Great Britain now proposed as a basis of negotiation that Bosnia and Bulgaria should be given local self-government without being freed from their dependence upon the Porte. Prince Milan refused to accept this proposal, and the war was resumed. The Turkish armies now prepared to invade the territory of Servia, but were checked by the interposition of Russia.

Up to this time the action of the Russian Government had been entirely conservative, being confined to its participation in the preparation of the diplomatic notes addressed to Turkey. Now large numbers of Russian officers and soldiers entered the Servian Army with the consent and approval of the Czar. They enabled the Servians to hold out against the Turks until the 31st of October, when the fortified city of Alexinatz was captured by the latter. This success placed Servia practically at the mercy of Turkey.

In the meantime orders had been sent to the Russian Ambassador at London to inform the British Government that it was the opinion of the Czar that force should be used to stop the war and put an end to Turkish misrule. Lord Derby stated that England was prepared to unite with Russia in bringing about an armistice of not less than a month, but would not support an armed intervention in Turkish affairs. At this juncture Turkey, to the surprise of all the Powers, suddenly offered an armistice for six months, and announced a scheme of reform for the whole empire. England, Austria and France favored the armistice, but Russia declared that she could not ask Servia to accept so long a truce, since the principality could not keep its army on a war footing for so long a time; and this view of the case was supported by Italy.

Russia demanded a truce of four or six weeks. The Turkish forces were pressing the siege of Alexinatz with energy, and it was apparent that that place could not hold out much longer. General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, was therefore ordered to demand of the Porte an acceptance within forty-eight hours of the armistice proposed by Russia. The demand was made on the 31st of October, and on the same day Alexinatz was captured by the Turks. The Russian demand was granted by the Porte, and the armistice was proclaimed.

Although determined to support Servia against Turkey, Russia was anxious to maintain friendly relations with the other European powers. On the 2nd of November Lord Adolphus Loftus, the English ambassador, had an interview with the Czar at Livadia. The Czar "pledged his sacred word and honor" that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and that if necessity compelled him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria it would only be provisionally, and until the safety of the Christian population was assured. These

assurances gave great satisfaction to the English Government, which now assumed the initiative in proposing a general conference of the representatives of the great Powers of Europe to meet at Constantinople.

On the 4th of November the Marquis of Salisbury was appointed the English representative. The proposal was accepted, but all the powers did not send special representatives. Germany, Russia and Italy considered their ambassadors at Constantinople sufficient; but Austria and France followed the example of England, and sent special representatives to assist their resident ambassadors.

Significant Threats.

Before the conference assembled the Earl of Beaconsfield (Disraeli), the English premier, delivered a speech sharply criticising the Russian attitude, and closed it with significant words: "While the policy of England is peace, no country is so well prepared for war." The next day, November 9th, the Czar, in an address to the nobles and communal council of Moscow, said: "I hope this conference will bring peace; should this, however, not be achieved, and should I see that we cannot attain such guarantees as are necessary for carrying out what we have a right to demand of the Porte, I am firmly determined to act independently." These words were generally regarded as a reply to Lord Beaconsfield's threat, and caused considerable excitement in Europe, as they implied a possibility of war between Russia and England.

Lord Salisbury reached Constantinople on the 5th of December. On his journey from London he had visited Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Rome, and had ascertained the views of those governments with respect to the Eastern question. Immediately upon reaching Constantinople he entered into communication with the Porte and with the foreign

ambassadors and representatives. He was encouraged by this intercourse to believe that the conference would result in a satisfactory settlement of the troubles. Turkey seemed willing to accept a fair proposition of settlement, and the Russian ambassador was especially cordial in co-operating with Lord Salisbury.

Results of the Conference.

"On December 11th the representatives of the six great powers of Europe met in a salon of the palace of the Russian embassy for a preliminary consultation, and on the following day the preliminary conference was formally opened with the exclusion of the Turkish representatives. The preliminary conference came to an end on December 21st, and General Ignatieff, in informing the Porte of the fact, invited it to send its representatives to the definite conference, which was to begin its sessions on December 23d. The result of the preliminary conference had been that the powers had agreed to restore the *status quo* in Servia and Montenegro; but, to prevent needless quarrels in future, Lesser Zvornik was to be annexed to Servia. Montenegro was also to receive an addition to its territory by the corners of Herzegovina protruding into Montenegro at Trebigne and Nicsic, and a strip of land connecting it with the coast, with a port.

"A detailed plan had also been proposed to secure the political autonomy of Bulgaria, which was, however, so disadvantageous to the Porte that the latter considered itself forced to reject the proposition. A weak point of the conference appeared, even before the preliminary conference had met. This was that it intended to consider the condition of the Slavic Christians only, while the other Christians and the Jews were not taken into consideration at all. This fact aroused great commotion among the Greek subjects of Tur-

key. They were particularly opposed to the creation of the two vilayets of Bulgaria, as proposed by the conference, the western vilayet encroaching upon territory which originally belonged to the Hellenic tribe."

Sudden Change in Turkish Policy.

Before the conference assembled, a very decided change took place in the policy of Turkey. On the 22d of December Midhat Pasha was made grand vizier. The true meaning of this appointment was that Turkey had resolved to take her affairs into her own hands and to refuse to submit to the dictation of the European powers. On the 23d the Porte proclaimed the new constitution of the Turkish empire which had been prepared by Midhat Pasha. This constitution entirely revolutionized the Turkish government. It provided for a parliament elected by the people, and made the Sultan a constitutional instead of an arbitrary sovereign.

The government was to be administered by ministers responsible to parliament, which body was to enact the laws necessary for the pacification and government of the empire. "The subjects of the empire are called, without distinction, Ottomans. Individual liberty is inviolable, and is guaranteed by the laws. Islamism is the religion of the State, but the free exercise of all recognized creeds is guaranteed, and the religious privileges of the communities are maintained. No provision investing the institutions of the state with a theocratic character exists in the constitution. The constitution establishes liberty of the press, the right of petition to both Chambers for all Ottomans, liberty of education, and the equality of all Ottomans before the law. They enjoy the same rights and have the same duties towards the country. Ottoman subjects, without distinction of religion, are admitted to the service of the state.

Taxation will be equally distributed; property is guaranteed, and the domicile is declared inviolable. No person can be taken from the jurisdiction of his natural judges. Public functionaries will be appointed in conformity with the conditions fixed by law, and cannot be dismissed without legal and sufficient cause. They are not discharged from responsibility by any orders contrary to law which they may receive from a superior. Judges are irremovable. The sittings of the tribunals are public. The advocates appearing for defendants are free. Sentences may be published. No interference can be permitted in the administration of justice. The jurisdiction of the tribunals will be exactly defined. Any exceptional tribunals or commissions are prohibited.

The Proposed Enactments.

No tax can be established or levied except by virtue of a law. The budget will be voted at the commencement of each session, and for a period of one year only. The final settlement of the budget for the preceding year will be submitted to the chamber of deputies in the form of a bill. The provincial administration is based upon the broadest system of decentralization. The councils general, which are elective, will deliberate upon and control the affairs of the province.

Every canton will have a council, elected by each of the different communities, for the management of its own affairs. The communes will be administered by elective municipal councils. Primary education is obligatory. The interpretation of the laws belongs, according to their nature, to the court of cassation, the council of state, and the senate. The constitution can only be modified on the initiation of the ministry, or of either of the two chambers, and by a vote of both chambers, passed by a majority of two-thirds. Such modification must also be sanctioned by the Sultan.

The conference met on the 23d of December, the very day of the promulgation of the constitution. On the 28th of December it was resolved to extend the armistice to March 1, 1877. The proclamation of the constitution seemed to cut the entire ground from under the feet of the conference. The representative of the Porte maintained that further deliberation was unnecessary, since the constitution was a sufficient answer to the powers. Nevertheless the sessions were continued, but without accomplishing anything. The conference demanded that the reforms in the Turkish empire should be executed by an international commission, having at its command a special military force, composed partly of Europeans and partly of Turks, but Turkey refused to accept the demand, and it was abandoned.

No Guarantee from Turkey.

Though Turkey was willing to pledge herself for the execution of the reforms, she steadily refused every material guarantee for the execution of this pledge suggested to her. The conference then reduced its demands to insisting that the Governors of Bosnia and Bulgaria should be appointed with the consent of the powers, and that the powers should be allowed to form an international commission, which should, however, have no military means of executing its decrees. On the 18th of January, 1877, the Porte firmly rejected these demands, and the conference came to an inglorious end.

During the sessions of the conference Roumania became alarmed at the terms of the constitution, the first article of which declared that the Ottoman empire, including the privileged provinces, forms an indivisible unity from which no portion can ever, on any ground, be detached, while the seventh article gives to the Sultan the right of investiture of the rulers of the privileged provinces. On the 5th of January, 1877, the Roumanian senate passed a resolution declaring that

the rights of the principality should remain intact, and calling upon the government to maintain them in a manner worthy of the state.

The excitement in Roumania was so great that in a few days the Porte officially declared that the constitution was purely internal, and did not affect the rights of a principality which were guaranteed by international treaties.

Demands of the Powers Refused.

The obstinacy of Turkey in refusing the demands of the Powers lost her the few friends she had left in Europe. The cause of this obstinacy was the Vizier Midhat Pasha, who, losing sight of the fact that the Turkish empire owed its existence in Europe entirely to the mutual jealousy of the great Powers, haughtily refused to allow any interference with its affairs.

His imperious will soon rendered him obnoxious to the Sultan, who grew restless under the control of the man who had already deposed two sultans within a year, and who would not hesitate to depose another should it suit his purposes. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, 1877, Midhat Pasha was removed from his office of vizier and ordered to quit Constantinople. He was succeeded by Edhem Pasha, who had served as one of the members of the conference, and who had distinguished himself by his bitter opposition to all the proposals of the foreign representatives.

Edhem Pasha at once devoted himself to the task of making peace with the rebellious principalities. He opened negotiations with Servia, and by the last of February concluded a treaty of peace with that principality. By the terms of the treaty the Servians were to retain their fortresses, were to salute the Turkish flag, and were to prevent armed bands from crossing the frontier. The Turkish troops, on

their part, were to evacuate the positions held on Servian territory. The treaty was ratified on the 3d of March, and a week later the Turkish forces withdrew from Servia, relinquishing Alexinatz and Saitchar to the Servians.

Negotiations had been opened with Montenegro at the same time that those with Servia were begun, but they proved more protracted and troublesome. Prince Nicholas at first demanded that the negotiations should be conducted at Vienna, but the Porte refused this, and the prince sent a delegation to Constantinople. The armistice was extended to the 13th of April. The Montenegrin demands were, briefly, the cession of Nicsics, which had been besieged by their forces for several months, the cession of a seaport, and such a rectification of their frontier as would increase their territory about one-half its present extent.

Resort to Diplomacy.

As the Montenegrins held actual possession of most of the territory demanded by them, they had the advantage of the Porte. The latter refused to grant any extension of territory, and towards the close of March, Prince Nicholas instructed his representatives to abate their demands somewhat, but to insist upon the cession of Nicsics. On the 10th of April the Turkish parliament, to which the matter was referred, rejected the demands of Montenegro, and the next day the representatives of that principality were informed of this decision, and were told that the armistice would not be renewed. Two days later the Montenegrin delegates set out for home, going by way of Odessa, in order to have an interview with the Czar and the Russian commander.

Russia had by this time fully determined to take part in the war, but being as yet unprepared, endeavored by skillful diplomacy to gain time. On the 31st of January Prince Gortscha-

koff addressed to the Russian representatives at the courts of the Powers concerned in the treaty of Paris a circular, in which he related the diplomatic efforts that had been made to secure the pacification of Turkey, and stated that the Czar, before determining upon a course for the future, wished to know what course would be determined upon by the other Powers.

On the 9th of March Turkey met this circular by one of her own addressed to the guaranteeing Powers, stating that "the reforms proposed by the conference and accepted by the imperial government are already being applied." On the 19th of March the Turkish parliament was formally opened with imposing ceremonies and renewed promises of reform. The great Powers, however, were suspicious of Turkey's promises, and were determined to demand further guarantees. Accordingly the Russian, French, German, Austrian and Italian ambassadors at London held several conferences with Lord Derby, the British foreign minister, the result of which was the signing, on the 31st of March, of a protocol by them, in behalf of their respective governments.

In the Interest of Peace.

This document declared that "the powers propose to watch carefully, by means of their representatives at Constantinople and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman government are carried into effect;" and in case these promises were not faithfully carried out, the powers reserved the right of common action "to secure the well-being of the Christian population and the interests of the general peace." Before signing this document Count Schouvaloff, the Russian ambassador, made a declaration to the effect that if the Porte showed itself ready to disarm, it should send a special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat for a mutual disarmament.

Lord Derby, on behalf of Great Britain, declared that if a reciprocal disarmament and peace did not result, the protocol was to be regarded as null and void. The answer of the Porte to the protocol was a defiant circular addressed to its representatives abroad, in which, while it did not entirely reject the protocol, it warmly resented the threat of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Turkey, repelled Count Schouvaloff's suggestion of intervention, and declined to send a special envoy to St. Petersburg. The circular was dated the 10th of April. When the Turkish ambassador in London delivered this circular to Lord Derby on the 12th of April, the British foreign minister expressed to him his deep regret at the course Turkey had seen fit to pursue, and said he could not see what further steps England could take to avert the war, which now seemed inevitable.

Every effort for peace having failed through the obstinacy of the Porte, Russia declared war against Turkey on the 24th of April, 1877. The history of this war is given in Book XXV.

Beginning of the Campaign.

Both in Armenia and Bulgaria the opening of the campaign was favorable to Russian arms, but later the Turks rallied and seriously checked the triumphant progress of the invaders. Even after the Russian forces had been greatly augmented the Turks resisted energetically. Kars, besieged for several months, resisted till the middle of November; Erzeroum did not surrender until after the armistice had been concluded.

Osman Pasha, who established himself in Plevna early in July, repelled with brilliant success repeated and determined assaults from a besieging army of Russians and Roumanians; and he had so strengthened the fortifications as to be able to hold out until the 10th of December, when he surrendered.

Desperate fighting in the Shipka Pass had failed to expel the Russians from their position in the Balkans ; but within a month of the fall of Plevna the Russians captured the whole Turkish army that was guarding the Shipka Pass, and then easily overran Roumelia. The victorious Muscovites occupied Adrianople in January, 1878 ; on the last day of that month an armistice was concluded ; and in March the " preliminary treaty " of San Stefano was signed.

After grave diplomatic difficulties, owing chiefly to the apparent incompatibility of English and Russian interests, a Congress of the Powers met at Berlin, and sanctioned the cessions and other territorial changes which, with modifications, were carried out between 1878 and 1881.

A Fleet in Turkish Waters.

The Russians evacuated Turkey in July and August, 1879. In the following October, a new ministry was formed under Said Pasha, and very soon a pressure for reforms was put upon the government by the British, which was signalized by Admiral Hornby and the fleet entering Turkish waters. A period of great financial depression followed.

A note of Savas Pasha to the Powers acknowledged corruptions in judicial affairs and promised efficient reforms. Early in 1880 an incident occurred which attracted wide attention. Colonel and Mrs. Synge, distributors of relief to needy Mussulmans, were captured by Greek brigands near Salonica, nor was it possible to secure their release except by a bonus of \$50,000. A collective note of the Berlin Conference was presented in July of this year, and soon after another was sent urging certain cessions of territory to Montenegro and proposing to aid the Prince in taking possession.

A final note from the Powers, respecting the cession, was delivered in September, and Admiral Beauchamp Seymour,

commander of the combined fleet at Ragusa, was sent to make a demonstration near Dulsigno, which had been included in the cession recommended, but the Sultan refused to surrender Dulsigno and the French declined to participate in an attack on the town. Subsequently the Sultan consented to the cession, which was effected in November, and the combined fleet dispersed. At this time the Greeks were arming and a note respecting this demonstration was sent to the Powers, which answered with a circular recommending arbitration.

This was declined by both Turkey and Greece, in January, 1881, but was followed by a proposition from Turkey for a conference at Constantinople. This conference was held in March, and resulted in an agreement between Turkey and the Powers. The proposals were referred to Athens. In July the Turco-Greek Convention ceding Thessaly to Greece was signed at Constantinople.

In December, 1882, the Sultan was in great alarm through dread of assassination, and without doubt there was good foundation for his fear. It appeared evident that enmity on the part of some of his trusted advisers was about to culminate in an attempt upon his life. Early in 1883 a fight occurred among his bodyguards, composed of Albanians and negroes, and about thirty were killed or wounded.

Difficulties occurred with the Greek Church respecting political reforms, resulting in the resignation of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Yoacham II., which was not accepted. Conciliation was proposed, but the resignation was maintained. However, an amicable settlement of the dispute was announced in April, 1884. During this month the Imperial Prince and Princess of Austria were hospitably entertained by the Sultan. About this time occurred the death of Midhat Pasha, the great statesman and reformer in exile, aged 62.

In August a circular was sent to the six great Powers

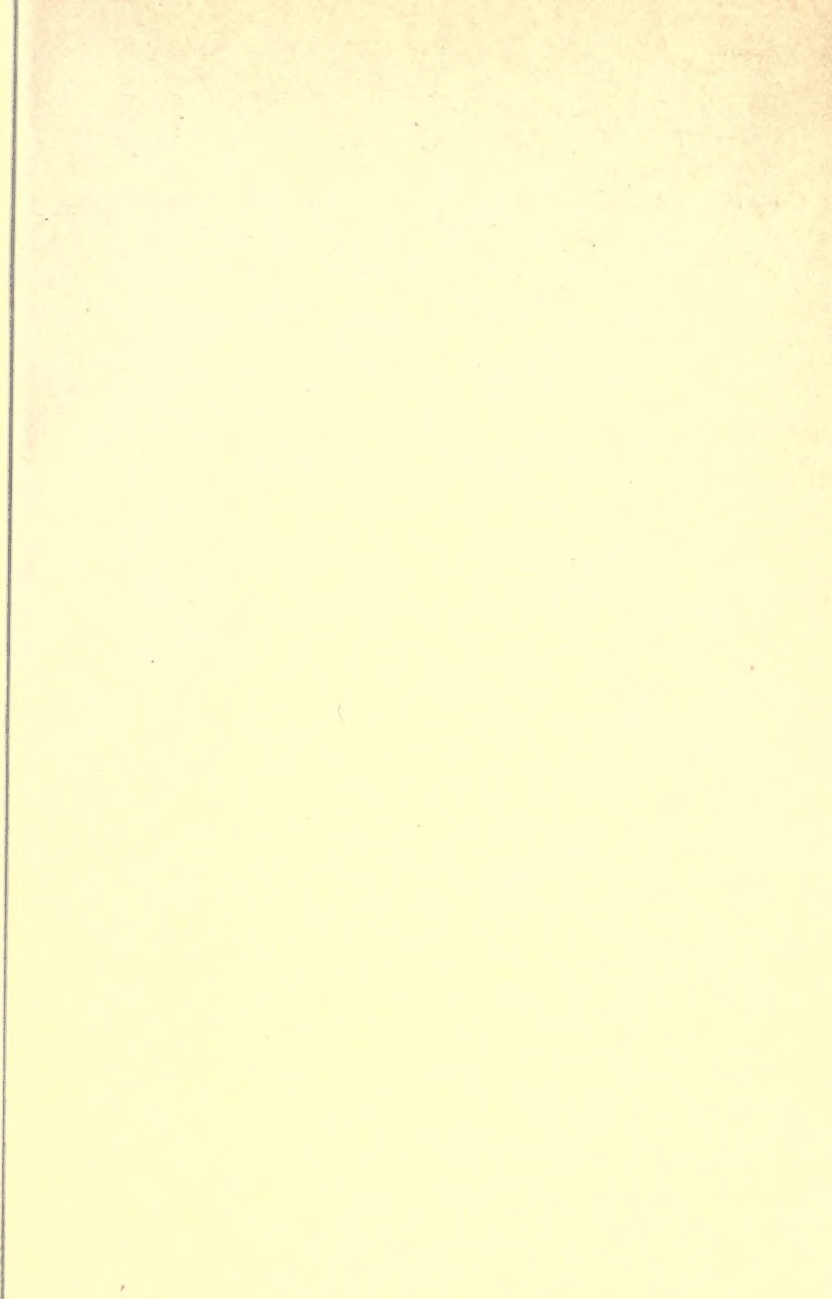
announcing the stoppage of the post-offices in Constantinople.

This was resisted, and the Turkish scheme, having failed, was withdrawn. Soon after petitions to the Sultan were sent from Massadonia respecting Turkish atrocities, which, it was felt, could be no longer endured. Commercial relations were continued and encouraged with England, and a new tariff was signed in July, 1885.

During this year a revolution occurred in Roumania, and a Turkish note was addressed to the Powers. Said Pasha, Grand Vizier, and other ministers were dismissed, and Kaimil Pasha came into power. A conference of ambassadors was held in October and presented a note condemning the revolution in Roumelia, as breaking the treaty of Berlin. Turkey asked the assistance of the Powers to settle the Roumelian affair.

In March, 1886, the Sultan ratified the treaty between Bulgaria and Servia. As an indication of the lawless condition of many parts of the Turkish empire, four English gentlemen were captured near Smyrna by brigands, who demanded a ransom of \$15,000, but who released their prisoners upon the payment of a fourth part of that sum.

Direct railway communication was established in 1888, between London and Constantinople, *via* Dover and Calais, in 94 hours, thus bringing these two points nearer together than ever before.



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